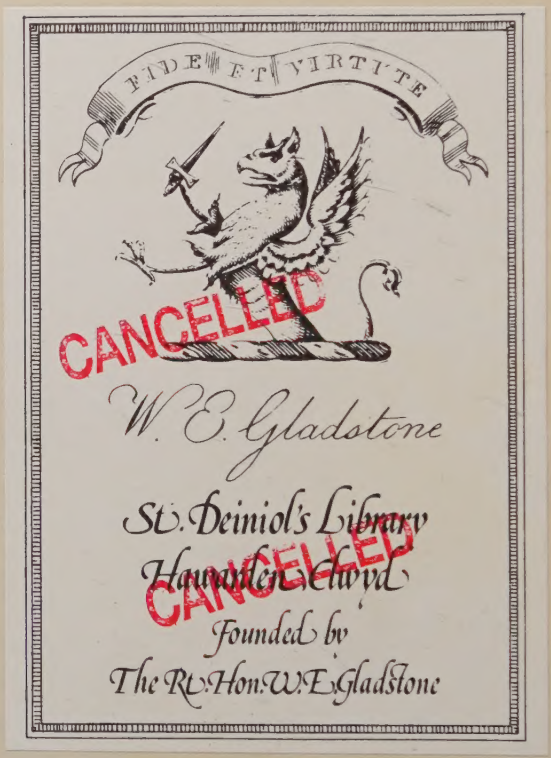
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THE FORMS OF HEBREW POETRY

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THE FORMS

OF

HEBREW POETRY

CONSIDERED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY

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PREFACE

It is impossible to go far at the present day in any serious attempt to interpret the prophetical books, or the books commonly called poetical, or certain other parts of the Old Testament, without being faced by questions relating to the forms of Hebrew poetry. I was myself compelled to consider these questions more fully than before when I came to prepare my commentary on *Isaiah* for the "International Critical Commentary," and in the introduction to that commentary I briefly indicated the manner in which, as it seemed to me, the more important of these questions should be answered. But it was impossible then and there to give as full an exposition of the subject as it requires. In the present volume I have ampler scope. Yet I must guard against a misunderstanding. Even here it is not my purpose to add to the already existing exhaustive, or at least voluminous, discussions of Hebrew metre. My aim is different: it is rather to survey the forms of Hebrew poetry, to consider them in relation to one another, and to illustrate

their bearing on the criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament.

I have no new theory of Hebrew metre to set forth; and I cannot accept in all its details any theory that others have elaborated. In my judgment some understanding of the laws of Hebrew rhythm has been gained: but much still remains uncertain. And both of these facts need to be constantly borne in mind in determining the text or interpreting the contents of Hebrew poetry. Perhaps, therefore, the chief service which I could expect of the discussion of Hebrew metre in this volume is that it may on the one hand open up to some the existence and general nature of certain metrical principles in Hebrew poetry, and that it may on the other hand warn others that, in view of our imperfect knowledge of the detailed working of these principles, considerable uncertainty really underlies the regular symmetrical forms in which certain scholars have presented the poetical parts of the Old Testament.

The first six chapters of the volume are an expansion of a course of University lectures delivered in the spring of 1913. They were published in the *Expositor* of May, June, July, August, September, October and December of the same year, and are now republished with some modifications and very considerable additions. The two last chapters, though written

earlier, are in the present volume rather of the nature of an Appendix, being special studies in the reconstruction of two mutilated acrostich poems. These also originally appeared in the *Expositor*, the former (Chapter VII.) in September 1898, the latter (Chapter VIII.) in September 1906. Except for the omission of a paragraph which would have been a needless repetition now that the two discussions appear together, and for a few slight or verbal alterations, and for additions which are clearly indicated, I have preferred to republish these chapters as they were originally written. They were both, and more especially the former, written before I saw as far, or as clearly, as I seem to myself at least now to do, into the principles of Hebrew metre : but additional notes here and there suffice to point out the bearing of these more fully appreciated principles on the earlier discussions, which remain for the most part unaffected, largely, I believe, because in the first instance I followed primarily the leading of parallelism, and parallelism is likely for long to remain a safer guide than metre, though metre may at times enforce the guidance of parallelism, or act as guide over places where parallelism will not carry us.

A word of explanation, if not of apology, is required for the regularity with which I have added translations to the Hebrew quoted in the text. In many cases such translation was the

readiest way of making clear my meaning; in others it is for the Hebrew student superfluous, and parts of the book can scarcely appeal to others than Hebrew students. But a large part of the discussions can be followed by those who are but little familiar or entirely unfamiliar with Hebrew. For the sake of any such who may read the book, and to secure the widest and easiest use possible for it, I have regularly added translations, except in the latter part of Chapter IV., where they would have been not only superfluous, but irritating to Hebrew students, and useless to others.

My last and pleasant duty is to thank the Rev. Allan Gaunt for his kindness in reading the proofs, and for offering various suggestions which I have been glad to accept.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

FAILURE to perceive what are the formal elements in Hebrew poetry has, in the past, frequently led to misinterpretation of Scripture. The existence of formal elements is now generally recognised; but there are still great differences of opinion as to the exact nature of some of these, and as to their relation to one another; and large questions or numerous important details of both the lower and higher criticism and of the interpretation of the Old Testament are involved in these differences. An examination of the forms of Hebrew poetry thus becomes a valuable, if not indeed a necessary, means to the correct appreciation of its substance, to an understanding of the thought expressed in it, in so far as that may still be understood, or, where that is at present no longer possible, to a perception of the cause and extent of the uncertainty and obscurity.

More especially do the questions relating to the two most important forms of Hebrew poetry

—parallelism and metre—require to be studied in close connexion with one another, and indeed in closer connexion than has been customary of late. I deliberately speak at this point of the *question* of parallelism and metre; for, on the one hand, it has been and may be contended that parallelism, though it is a characteristic of much, is never a form of any, Hebrew poetry, and, on the other hand, it has been and still is sometimes contended that metre is not a form of Hebrew poetry, for the simple reason that in Hebrew poetry it did not exist. Over a question of nomenclature, whether parallelism should be termed a form or a characteristic, no words need be wasted; the really important question to be considered later on is how far the phenomena covered by the term parallelism can be classified, and how far they conform to laws that can be defined. A third form of some Hebrew poetry is the strophe. This is of less, but still of considerable importance, and will be briefly considered in its place; but rhyme, which is not a regular feature of Hebrew poetry, and poetical diction need not for the purposes of the present survey be more than quite briefly and incidentally referred to.

The first systematic treatment of any of the formal elements of Hebrew poetry came from Oxford. There have been few more distinguished occupants of the chair of Poetry in that university than Robert Lowth, afterwards Bishop of London,

and few lectures delivered from that chair have been more influential than his *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae.* These lectures were published in the same year (1753) as another famous volume, to wit, Jean Astruc's *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse.* It is as true of Astruc as of Lowth that "in theology he clung to the traditional orthodoxy";[1] yet Astruc was the first to apply a stylistic argument in a systematic attempt to recover the original sources of a portion of the Pentateuch, and Lowth, by his entire treatment of his subject, marks the transition from the then prevailing dogmatic treatment of the Old Testament to that treatment of it which rests on the recognition that, whatever else it may be, and however sharply distinguished in its worth or by its peculiarities from other literatures, the Old Testament is primarily literature, demanding the same critical examination and appreciation, alike of form and substance, as other literature. Owing to certain actual characteristics of what survives of ancient Hebrew literature, documentary analysis has necessarily played an important part in modern criticism of the Old Testament; and if, narrowing unduly the conception of Old Testament criticism, we think in connexion with it mainly or exclusively

[1] T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 3.

of documentary analysis and questions of origin, Astruc may seem a more important founder of Modern Criticism than Lowth. But in reality the general implications of Lowth's discussion of Hebrew poetry, apart from certain special conclusions reached by him to which we shall pass immediately, make his lectures of wider significance than even Astruc's acute conjectures; and we may fairly claim that, through Lowth and his two principal works, both of which were translated into German, the *Lectures* by Michaelis, the *Isaiah* by Koppe, Oxford, in the middle of the eighteenth century, contributed to the critical study of the Old Testament and the appreciation of Hebrew literature in a degree that was scarcely equalled till the nineteenth century was drawing to its close.

It is a relatively small part of Lowth's lectures that is devoted to those forms or formal characteristics of Hebrew poetry with which we are here concerned: of the thirty-four lectures one only, the nineteenth, is primarily devoted to that form with which Lowth's name will always be associated, though the subject of parallelism was already raised in the third lecture. The maturer and fuller discussion of this and kindred topics was first published in 1778 as a preliminary dissertation to the translation of Isaiah. Briefly summed up, Lowth's contribution to the subject was twofold: he for the first time clearly

analysed and expounded the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry, and he drew attention to the fact that the extent of poetry in the Old Testament was much larger than had generally been recognised, that in particular it included the greater part of the prophetic writings.

The existence and general characteristics of parallelism as claimed by Lowth have never been questioned since, nor the importance for interpretation of recognising these; nor can it be questioned, once the nature of parallelism is admitted, that parallelism occurs in the Prophets as well as in the Psalms, and in many passages of the Prophets no less regularly than in many Psalms. If, then, *on the ground of parallelism*, the Psalms are judged to be poetry, the prophetic writings (in the main) must also be regarded as poetry; and, if, on the ground of parallelism, a translation of the Psalms is marked, as is the Revised Version, by line divisions corresponding to the parallel members of the original, a translation of the Prophets should also be so marked; and by failing so to mark the prophetic poetry, and thereby introducing an unreal distinction between the form of the Psalms and the form of the prophetic writings, the Revised Version conceals from those who use it one of the most important and one of the surest of the conclusions which were reached by Lowth in his discussion of Hebrew poetry.

Whether after all parallelism is itself a true *differentia* between prose and poetry in Hebrew, may be and will be discussed ; but it will be useful before proceeding to a closer examination either of parallelism or of other alleged *differentiae* between prose and poetry, to recall the earlier scattered and unsystematic attempts to describe the formal elements of Hebrew poetry.

It has always been recognised that between mediaeval Jewish poetry and the poetry of the Old Testament there is, so far as form goes, no connexion ; nor, indeed, any similarity beyond the use, especially by the earliest of these mediaeval poets such as Jose ibn Jose and Kaliri, of acrostic, or alphabetic schemes such as occur in Lamentations i.-iv. and some other poems [1] in the Old Testament. The beginnings of mediaeval Jewish poetry go back to the ninth or tenth century A.D. at least ; it arose under the influence of Arabic culture, though it may also have owed something to Syriac poetry ; it flourished for some centuries in the West, and particularly in Spain. This poetry was governed by metre and rhyme ; [2] and the metre was quantitative. The same period was also, and again owing to the influence of Arabic culture, an age

[1] Enumerated below, p. 244 f.

[2] The introduction of rhyme into Hebrew poetry is attributed to Jannai ; rhyme was also employed by Kaliri. Both Jannai (probably) and Kaliri were Palestinians, and both lived in or before the ninth century A.D. : see Graetz, *Gesch. des Judenthums*, v. 158, 159.

of Jewish grammarians and philologists. These recognised the difference between the old poetry and the new, but contributed little to an understanding of the forms of the older poetry beyond a tolerably general acquiescence in the negative judgment that that older poetry was not metrical. In any case, no living tradition of the laws of the older Hebrew poetry, the poetry of the Old Testament, survived in the days of the poets Chasdai (A.D. 915–970), Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021–1058, or 1070), Judah hal-Levi (born 1085); of the grammarians and philologists, of whom some were poets also, Dunash ibn Labrat (*c.* 920–990), Menahem ibn Saruk (*c.* 910–970), Abu'l-Walid (eleventh century), Ibn Ezra, and the Ḳimḥis (twelfth century). The older poetry had long been a lost art. Whatever these mediaeval scholars say of it has, therefore, merely the value of an antiquarian theory; and however interesting their theories may be, they need not detain us longer now.

But there exist a few far earlier Jewish statements on the formal elements of the poetry of the Old Testament which run back, not indeed to the time of even the latest poems within the Old Testament, but to a time when, as will be pointed out in detail later on, poetry of the ancient Hebrew type was still being written. Statements from such a period unquestionably have a higher degree of interest than those of the

mediaeval Jewish scholars. Whether as a matter of fact they point to any discernment of the real principles of that poetry, and whether they do not betray at once misconceptions and lack of perception, is another question. At all events, it is important to observe that while the authors of these statements were Jews, the readers with a view to whom they wrote were Greeks. So far as I am aware, there is no discussion of metre, or parallelism, or in general of the formal elements of Hebrew poetry, in the Rabbinical writings, that is to say in Jewish literature written in Hebrew or Aramaic, until after the gradual permeation of Jewish by Arabic scholarship from the seventh or eighth century A.D. onwards. We owe the earliest statements on Hebrew poetical forms to two Jews who wrote in Greek—to Philo and to Josephus.

Philo's evidence is slight and indirect as to the poetry of the Old Testament. In the *De vita Mosis* i. 5 he asserts that Moses was taught by the Egyptians "the whole theory of rhythm, harmony and metre" (*τήν τε ῥυθμικὴν καὶ ἁρμονικὴν καὶ μετρικὴν θεωρίαν*); but he nowhere states that the poems attributed to Moses in the Pentateuch are metrical. Of Jewish poetry of a later age he speaks more definitely, if the *De vita contemplativa* is correctly attributed to him, and if the sect therein described was a Jewish sect. It is asserted in this tract (cc. x. xi.) that the thera-

peutae sang hymns "in many metres and tunes," and in particular in iambic trimeters.

The three statements of Josephus on the subject are much more specific and definite. Of Moses he says, in reference to Exodus xv. 2 ff., that "he composed a song to God . . . in hexameter verse" (*ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ*);[1] and again, in reference to Deut. xxxii., that Moses read to the Israelites "a hexametrical poem" (*ποίησιν ἑξάμετρον*), and left it to them in the holy book.[2] Of David he says that "he composed songs and hymns in various metres (*μέτρου ποικίλου*), making some trimetrical, others pentametrical."[3]

These exhaust the direct testimony of Jews, who lived while poetry similar to that in the Old Testament was still being written, to the metrical character of that poetry. It is possible that we have an indirect testimony to more specific Jewish statements or theories in certain of the patristic writers. It will be sufficient here to refer to what is said by Origen and Eusebius and Jerome;[4] all these scholars belong to a period before the new style of poetry adopted by the mediaeval Jews had begun to be written, though perhaps none of them belong quite to the age when the older poetry was still practised as a living art.

[1] *Ant.* ii. 16. 4. [2] *Ant.* iv. 8. 44. [3] *Ant.* vii. 12. 3.

[4] The passages from these and other patristic writers have been brought together and discussed by J. Döller (*Rhythmus, Metrik und Strophik in der bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; see pp. 18-35).

Origen's reference to the subject of Hebrew metre is to be found in a scholion on Psalm cxviii. 1 (LXX). He agrees with Josephus that Deuteronomy xxxii. is hexametrical, and that some of the Psalms are trimetrical; but as an alternative metre used in the Psalter, he gives not the pentameter, as Josephus had done, but the tetrameter. At the same time he clearly recognises that Hebrew verses are different in character (ἕτεροι) from Greek verses. Ley finds two further statements in Origen's somewhat obscure words: (1) that the metrical unit (*den vollen Vers*) in Hebrew consists of two stichoi, not of a single stichos; (2) that Hebrew metre was measured by the number of accented syllables.[1]

Eusebius refers to metre in Hebrew poems as follows: "There would also be found among them poems in metre, like the great song of Moses and David's 118th Psalm, composed in what the

[1] The scholion in question was published by Cardinal Pitra in *Analecta Sacra*, ii. 341, and reprinted thence by Preuschen in the *Zeitschrift für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1891, pp. 316, 317; in the same *Zeitschrift* for 1892 (pp. 212-217) Julius Ley translated and commented on the scholion. The text being still none too well known or accessible, it may be well to reproduce it here. The words commented on are Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου, and the scholion runs as follows:—οὕτω γε στίχος ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίοις στίχοι, ὡς ἔλεγέ τις, ἔμμετροί εἰσιν· ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ μὲν ἡ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ᾠδή· ἐν τριμέτρῳ δὲ καὶ τετραμέτρῳ οἱ ψαλμοί. οἱ στίχοι οὖν, οἱ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, ἕτεροί εἰσιν παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν. Ἐὰν θέλωμεν ἐνθάδε τηρῆσαι, τοὺς στίχους ποιοῦμεν. "Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου." Καὶ οὕτως ἀρχόμεθα δευτέρου τοῦ ἑξῆς· ἰστέον τοίνυν ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἑρμηνεύσαντες πεποιήκασι τὸν παρ' Ἑβραίοις στίχον ἐν τοιούτοις δύο (ὡς [ὁ] τοῦτο ἀντίγραφον γράψας οἰονεὶ πεποίηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στίχου μετ' ἐκθέσεως)· τὸν δὲ δοκοῦντες δεύτερον, μὴ ὄντα δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ λεῖμμα τοῦ προτέρου μετ' αἰσθήσεως· καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ ῥητοῦ.

Greeks call heroic metre. At least it is said (*φασὶ γοῦν*) that these are hexameters, consisting of sixteen syllables; also their other compositions in verse are said to consist of trimeter and tetrameter lines according to the sound of their own language." [1] The reference to Deuteronomy xxxii. and Psalm cxviii. (cxix.) and the specific metres mentioned are as in Origen; but whether or not Origen suspected or asserted measurement by accented syllables, Eusebius clearly refers to a measurement by syllables, and thereby produces the impression that the Hebrew hexameter was of the same nature as the Greek: whereas Origen distinctly asserts that Hebrew metres are as compared with the Greek *ἕτεροι*. At the same time, the final words in Eusebius have something of the character of a saving clause.

Scattered over Jerome's writings are a larger number of specific statements, which may be summarised as follows:

1. Job iii. 2–xl. 6 consists of hexameters; but the verses are varied and irregular.[2]

2. Job, Proverbs, the songs in Deuteronomy (*i.e.* Deut. xxxii.) and Isaiah, "Deuteronomii et Isaiae Cantica," are all written in hexameters or

[1] *Praep. Ev.* xi. 5. 5: the translation given above is Gifford's.

[2] "Hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondaeoque currentes; et propter linguae idioma crebro recipientes et alios pedes non earumdem syllabarum, sed eorumdem temporum. Interdum quoque rhythmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris lege metri solutis," *Praef. in Job* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxviii. 1082).

pentameters.[1] Yet elsewhere[2] "Deuteronomii Canticum" is said to be written in iambic tetrameters.

3. Psalms cx. and cxi. are iambic trimeters.[2]

4. Psalms cxviii., cxliv. and Proverbs xxxi. 10-31 are iambic tetrameters.[2]

5. Lamentations i. ii. are in "quasi sapphico metro"; but Lamentations iii. in trimeters.[2]

6. The prophets, though the text of them is marked off by commas and colons, are *not* metrical.[3]

But these statements occur in such connexions, or are accompanied by such qualifying phrases, as to indicate that Jerome did not intend them to be taken too strictly, or as exactly assimilating Hebrew poetry in respect of its measurements to classical poetry. Thus, the hexameters in Job are said to admit other feet in addition to dactyls and spondees; the "sapphic metre" of Lamentations i. ii. iv. is qualified as "quasi"; and in forestalling incredulity, such as the Emperor Julian is said to have expressed, as to the existence of metre in Hebrew literature, Jerome speaks of the Hebrew poems as being "*in morem* nostri Flacci"—*after the manner* of Horace.

There is one further important observation to be made with regard to Jerome: the authori-

[1] "Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus . . . apud suos composita decurrunt," *Praef. in Chron. Eusebii* (Migne xxvii. 36).

[2] Ep. xxx. (ad Paulam) (Migne xxii. 442).

[3] *Praef. in Isaiam* (Migne xxviii. 771).

ties whom he cites for his statements are not his own Hebrew teacher, but Philo, Josephus, Origen, and Eusebius,[1] to the first two of whom Origen in turn may refer indefinitely in his phrase ἔλεγέ τις.

From this we may with some probability conclude (1) that Jerome's views of the nature of Hebrew poetry do not represent those of Jewish scholarship of his day; but (2) that they are a reproduction of the statements of Josephus, or deductions made by Jerome himself from or in the spirit of Josephus' statements. On whom Eusebius relied for the statement (φασὶ γοῦν) that the Hebrew hexameter contained sixteen syllables we cannot say, but his informants were scarcely Jewish contemporaries of his.

If, then, any theory or tradition of the metrical character of the old Hebrew poetry formulated

[1] "If it seem incredible to any one that the Hebrews really have metres, and that, whether we consider the Psalter, or the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or almost all the songs of Scripture, they bear a resemblance to our Flaccus, and the Greek Pindar, and Alcaeus, and Sappho, let him read Philo, Josephus, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and with the aid of their testimony he will find that I speak the truth": Preface to the translation of Job (Fremantle's translation, p. 491): Migne xxviii. 1082. This was written about A.D. 392; but Jerome had expressed himself to much the same effect ten years earlier in a passage, partly cited already in the original, in his Preface to the Chronicle of Eusebius: "What can be more musical than the Psalter? Like the writings of our own Flaccus and the Grecian Pindar it now trips along in iambics, now flows in sonorous alcaics, now swells into sapphics, now marches in half-foot metre. What can be more lovely than the strains of Deuteronomy and Isaiah? What more grave than Solomon's words? What more finished than Job? All these, as Josephus and Origen tell us, were composed in hexameters and pentameters, and so circulated amongst their own people."—Fremantle, p. 484: Migne xxvii. 36.

by those who actually wrote it still survives, our primary source for it is Josephus. But does what Josephus says depend on a previously existing theory or tradition ? In all probability it does not. Josephus, in commending Hebrew poetry to his Greek readers, followed his usual practice of describing things Jewish in terms that would make a good impression on them. And so he calls Deuteronomy xxxii. hexametrical—a term which some modern scholars would still apply to it—but he gives his readers no clue to, even if he himself had any clear idea of, the difference between these hexameters and those of Greek and Latin poetry. Neither he nor any of the Christian scholars who follow him defines the nature of the feet or other units of which six, five, four, and three compose the hexameters, pentameters, tetrameters, and trimeters respectively of which they speak ; and, indeed, so loosely are these terms used that Jerome describes Deuteronomy xxxii. on one occasion as hexameter, and on another as tetrameter. Some modern scholars continue to use these same terms, but define more or less precisely what they mean by them ; and the Hebrew hexameters of the modern metrist have far less resemblance to a Greek or Latin hexameter than any of the numerous English hexameters with which English poets have at intervals experimented from the age of Elizabeth down to our own times. There is no

reason for believing that Josephus, Origen, or Jerome really detected, or even thought that they detected, any greater similarity; Jerome's "quasi," Origen's ἕτεροι, cover, as a matter of fact, a very high degree of difference.

Early Jewish observations on Hebrew metre are neither numerous nor valuable; but observations on the characteristic parallelism of Hebrew poetry seem to have been entirely non-existent earlier than the time of the mediaeval Jewish grammarians. Josephus was stimulated to discover or imagine metre in Hebrew poetry by his desire to commend it to the Greeks; he had no such stimulus to draw attention to parallelism, for that corresponded to nothing in the poetry of Greece or Rome. And another cause worked against the recognition by the Jewish Rabbis of the part played by parallelism in Hebrew poetry. But before defining this cause it will be convenient to record the extent to which Lowth's analysis of parallelism was anticipated by the mediaeval Jews.

Dukes[1] drew attention to the fact that D. Ḳimḥi (*c.* A.D. 1160–1235) in his comment on Isaiah xix. 8 calls parallelism "a reduplication of the meaning by means of synonymous terms" (כפול ענין במלות שנות), and that Levi ben Gershon had called it an elegance (דרך צחות), and also noted the fact that the same style was customary

[1] *Zur Kenntnis der neuhebr. religiösen Poesie* (1842), p. 125.

with the Arabs. Schmiedl, in 1861,[1] drew attention to the still earlier use by Ibn Ezra (A.D. 1093–1168) of these same expressions as well as of some others with reference to parallelism. So far as I am aware, similar observations in writers earlier than Ibn Ezra have never yet been discovered.[2] Ibn Ezra's observations may be summarised as follows : it is an elegance of style, and in particular a characteristic of the *prophetic* style, to repeat the same thought by means of synonymous words.[3] Whether in regarding parallelism as peculiarly characteristic of the prophetic style (דרך הנביאות) Ibn Ezra anticipated Lowth's observation that Old Testament prophetic literature is, in the main, poetical in form, is doubtful : for the examples of parallelism given by Ibn Ezra are drawn, not from the prophetical books, but from the prophetic poems in the Pentateuch attributed to Jacob, Moses, and Balaam.

Far more important is Ibn Ezra's insistence that parallelism is a *form* of poetry, and that when a writer repeats his thought by means of synonymous terms he is not adding to the substance, but merely perfecting the form of what he had to say. This represents a reaction against

[1] In *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, p. 157.

[2] Cardinal Pitra was of opinion that Origen's scholion given above (p. 12 *n.*) recognised parallelism, but this is doubtful.

[3] Ibn Ezra cites as examples Genesis xlix. 6 a, b, Deuteronomy xxxii. 7 c, d, Numbers xxiii. 8.

a mode of exegesis that treated such repetition as an addition to the substance. It was this mode of exegesis, doubtless, that militated against the discernment of the real nature of parallelism by earlier Jewish scholars. How could interpreters who attributed importance to every letter and every external peculiarity of the sacred text admit that it was customary in a large part of Scripture to express the same thought twice over by means of synonymous terms? If the fact that ויצר in Genesis ii. 7 is written with two yods, though it might have been written with one, was supposed to express the thought not only that God "formed" man, but that He formed him with two "formations," or "inclinations," to wit, the evil inclination and the good inclination, how could two parallel lines convey no fuller meaning than one such line standing by itself? The influence of this exegetical principle lingers still; at an earlier time it was far-reaching. For example, in Lamech's song (Gen. iv. 23), "the man" and "the young man" came to be treated not as what in reality they are, synonymous terms with the same reference, but as referring to two different individuals, one old and one young, who were, then, identified with the ancient Cain and the youthful Tubal-Cain.[1] Again, the reduplication of the same thought in

[1] See the commentary of Rashi (eleventh century A.D.) on Gen. iv. 23.

two parallel lines is not recognised in.

Therefore, the wicked shall not stand in the judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous (Ps. i. 1).

Rabbi Nehemiah, a Rabbi of the second century A.D., said "the wicked mean the generation of the Flood, and the sinners mean the men of Sodom."[1] If no other difference of reference could be postulated between two parallel terms or lines or other repetitions of a statement, it was customary to explain one of the present world and the other of the world to come.[2] "Day and night" is a sufficiently obvious expression for "continually"; and a poet naturally distributed the two terms between two parallel lines without any intention that what he speaks of in the one line should be understood to be confined to the day, and what he speaks of in the second line to the night: thus, when a Psalmist says (xcii. 1),

It is a good thing . . .
To declare thy kindness in the morning
And thy faithfulness in the night,

what he means is that it is good to declare both the kindness and the faithfulness of God at all times. Yet even some modern commentators still continue to squeeze substance out of form by making Psalm xlii. 9 (8)—

By day will Yahweh command his kindness,
And in the night his song shall be with me—

[1] *Sanhedrin* x. 3.

[2] See e.g. *Sanhedrin* x. 3 for several examples of second-century exegesis of this kind.

mean more than that the Psalmist is the constant recipient of God's goodness; and herein these modern commentators follow, in misconceiving the influence of form, the early Jewish interpreter Resh Lakish (third century A.D.) who explained the verse thus: "Every one who studieth in the Law in this world which is like the night, the Holy One, blessed be He, stretches over him the thread of grace for the future world which is like the day."

To sum up this part of our discussion: Jewish Rabbis in the second century A.D. misunderstood the parallelism that is characteristic of most of the poetry of the Old Testament, and, with the exception of Philo and Josephus, no Jews appear to have given any attention to any metrical laws that may also have governed that poetry;[2] and

[1] Talmud B. *Ḥagigah* 12 b; ed. Streane, p. 64. Another passage where some modern commentators have failed to see how much the real range of thought is defined by parallelism is Hos. ii. 5 a, b—

Lest I strip her naked,
And set her as on the day she was born.

These two lines are entirely synonymous. For the correct understanding of the second line the most important thing is to recall Job i. 21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb"; the two lines mean simply this: Lest I strip her to the skin so that she becomes as naked as a child just drawn from the womb. Such a note as Harper's in the *International Critical Commentary* (p. 227), which is partly based on Hitzig's, is not really interpretation: the lines do *not* mean that Israel is to become a nomadic people again. Strangely enough, the modern commentaries which I have consulted do not give the really pertinent reference to Job i. 21: and it was not until I turned to Ḳimḥi that I found a commentator who did. He very correctly paraphrases the second line: I will cause her to stand naked as on the day of her birth, and regards it as repeating the meaning of the first line by synonymous terms (העניין כפול בסלות שונות).

[2] It is possible enough that the practice of distinguishing certain poems (viz. those in Ex. xv., Deut. xxxii., Judg. v. and 2 Sam. xxii.) by spacing within the lines, a practice still regularly observed in printed

what Josephus says on that subject is expressed in Greek terms, was written as part of his apology for all things Jewish, and appears at most to imply that Josephus had some perception of difference of rhythm in different Hebrew poems. The account he gives wears a rather more learned air, but is in reality as vague and insufficient as the account given to Dr. Dalman by some of those who supplied him with his specimens of modern Palestinian poetry.[1]

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editions of the Hebrew Bible even when other poems such as Psalms and Job are not so distinguished, goes back to this period. It is certainly vouched for by sayings in both Talmuds (*j. Meg.* iii. 74, col. 2, bottom ; *b. Meg.* 16 b ; cp. *Shabbath*, 103 b, bottom), of which the Jerusalem Talmud is commonly considered to have been completed *c.* A.D. 350, the Babylonian *c.* A.D. 500 ; and by the time that the tractate *Soferim* was written (probably *c.* A.D. 850), according to statements therein contained (*Soferim*, ed. Joel Müller, xiii. 1, p. xxi), it was customary in accurately written MSS. to distinguish Psalms, Proverbs, and Job in the same way ; and in some of the earliest existing MSS. Psalms and Job as well as the four passages above mentioned are so distinguished. But it is difficult, not to say impossible, to derive from these facts any theory of the nature of parallelism, or of the rhythm of the lines so distinguished : on the contrary, the different divisions of these poetical passages in different MSS., the failure to distinguish at all such obvious poems as the blessing of Jacob in Gen. xlix., the poems attributed to Balaam in Num. xxiii., xxiv., and the blessings of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. (cp. Ginsburg's edition of the Hebrew Bible), and the fact that the directions in the Talmud for writing certain passages στιχηρῶς group together the poems in Ex. xv., Deut. xxxii., etc., and the lists of the kings of Canaan in Jos. xx. 9-24 and of the sons of Haman in Esth. ix., rather suggest the absence of any clear theory of either parallelism or rhythm.

[1] " In modern Arabic folk-poetry the purely rhythmical has begun to drive out the quantitative principle so that a distinction may be drawn between quantitative and rhythmical poems." . . .

" I have never been able to discover how the composers of this folk-poetry go to work in the composition of these poems. To the question whether there was nothing at all in his lines that the poet numbered so as to secure regularity (*Gleichmass*), I received from several different quarters the reply, that nothing at all was numbered, that for the folk-

And yet, in the second century A.D., Hebrew poetry of the type found in the Old Testament had not yet become a long obsolete type, as it had become when the new art of rhymed, metrical poems without parallelism was brought to perfection in the tenth to the twelfth centuries; contemporaries of Josephus were still employing parallelism with as much regularity and skilful variation as the best writers of the Old Testament period; and in all probability, in many cases at least, rhythmical regularity of the same kind, and as great, accompanied these parallelistic compositions, as is found in any of the Biblical poems. But later than the second century A.D. only meagre traces of parallelism of the types found in the Old Testament, or of the same kind of rhythms as are used there, can be found; and certainly, when the new Hebrew poetry was created, it dispensed with parallelism—with parallelism, at all events, as any constant feature of the poems.

Without prejudging the question whether parallelism in Hebrew necessarily constitutes or implies poetical form, it will be convenient at this point to take a survey of those parts of ancient Jewish literature outside the Old Testament in which either parallelism is conspicuous,

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poetry there was only one standard (*Mass*)—absolute caprice. No doubt it may be supposed that the individual poet instinctively imitates the form of some poem that is known to him."—G. H. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwân*, pp. xxii, xxiii.

or other features are prominent which distinguish those parts of the Old Testament commonly regarded as poetry. Most of this literature, especially the latest of it, survives only in translation; and, with regard to much of it, it is disputed whether it actually runs back to a Hebrew original at all. The exact date, again, of much of it is uncertain, and I shall, therefore, attempt no rigid chronological order of mention; in general the period in question is from the third or second century B.C. to the second century A.D.

Of the apocryphal books it was clear even before the discovery of the Hebrew original that Ecclesiasticus (*c.* 180 B.C.) must have possessed all the characteristics of ancient Hebrew poetry; and even the alphabetic structure of li. 13-30 had been inferred.[1] But Ecclesiasticus may well be older than some of the latest poems in the Old Testament.

The Hebrew original of the first book of Maccabees (*c.* 90 B.C.) has not yet been recovered: but, even through the translations, it is easy to detect certain passages to which the use of parallelism gives an entirely different character from the simple prose narrative of the main body of the work. Such passages are the eulogies of Judas (iii. 3-9) and Simon (xiv. 6-15) and also i. 25-28, 36 b-40, ii. 8-11 (13 a). Isolated distichs,

[1] By G. A. Bickell in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1882, pp. 319 ff.

such as occur in ii. 44 and ix. 41, may be citations from now lost poems, as vii. 17 is from a still extant Psalm (lxxix. 2, 3). In ix. 20, 21 reference is made to an elegy on Judas and the opening words are cited. It is possible to infer the Hebrew original of these words with practical certainty, and to detect in

איך נפל הגבור | מושיע ישראל

How hath the valiant man fallen,
He that delivered Israel,

the opening of a poem constructed after the same form [1] as elegies in the Old Testament.

In the book of Judith, which may have been written about 150, or as some think about 80 B.C., we find a long poem of praise and thanksgiving; in part, it is a close imitation of earlier poems in the Old Testament; but its parallelistic, as was also presumably its rhythmical, regularity is by no means least where it is most independent, as, for example, in the lines (xvi. 8-10)—

She anointed her face with ointment,
And bound her hair in a tire;
And she took a linen garment to deceive him,
Her sandal ravished his eye,
And her beauty took his soul prisoner,
The scimitar passed through his neck,
The Persians quaked at her daring,
And the Medes at her boldness were daunted.

Not only the Apocrypha, but the Pseudepigrapha, contain much, the New Testament,

[1] See below, pp. 96 ff.

perhaps, a little, that was originally written in Hebrew and was poetical in form. Among these specimens of late Hebrew poetry we may certainly include the eighteen "Psalms of Solomon" (*c.* 50 B.C.)[1] and perhaps some of the most ancient elements of the Jewish liturgy, such as the "Eighteen Blessings" (*c.* A.D. 100), and the blessings accompanying the recitation of the Sh^{e}ma^{c};[2] possibly also the Magnificat and other New Testament Canticles.[3] Several of the apocalypses also include poems; in those which he has edited more recently, Dr. Charles has distinguished the poetry from the prose by printing the former in regular lines. Without admitting that *all* parts thus distinguished by him or others possessed

[1] The parallelistic structure is indicated in my translation of these Psalms in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. R. H. Charles), ii. 631-652.

[2] The Hebrew text of these and of the "Eighteen" is conveniently brought together in W. Staerk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete* (Bonn, 1910). The rhythm is indicated in the notes and German translation in P. Fiebig, *Berachoth: Der Mischnatractat Gegensprüche*, pp. 26 ff.

[3] Dr. Burney has recently argued that the parable of the last Judgment in Matt. xxv. 31-46 was a Hebrew poem; and his Hebrew translation from the Greek text of the Gospel, his metrical analysis of the poem and his English translation, as far as possible in the rhythm of his Hebrew reconstruction, deserve careful attention. See the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1913 (vol. xiv. 414-424).

Parts, but parts only, of Matt. xxv. 31-46 are thrown into parallel lines by Dr. Moffat also in *The New Testament: a new translation.* That parts only are so arranged in this passage is the more noticeable because in a considerable number of other, longer or shorter, passages in this translation of the New Testament an arrangement in lines is adopted. It is, however, tolerably clear that this line arrangement is not always intended to imply poetical form. And certainly, even for example in the parts of 1 Cor. xiii. which are so arranged, the form is not that of Hebrew parallelism; in *vv.* 1-3 the formal effect is obtained by exact repetition of the same phrase ("but if I have no love"), not by repetition of the same thought by means of synonymous terms.

poetical form in the original, I think it may be safely said that such apocalypses as the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV. Esdras do each contain *some* such passages.

Now of these books or passages which show the same characteristics as the poetry of the Old Testament, some at least were written by men who were contemporary both with Josephus and also with those who after A.D. 70 founded that Jewish school at Jamnia of whose methods of exegesis (in the second century A.D.) examples have been given above. At the very time that the Rabbis were examining scripture with eyes blind to parallelism, other Jews were still writing poems that made all the old use of parallelism. This may be proved by reference to the Apocalypse of Baruch: for with regard to this book I believe that it may be safely asserted [1] (1) that it was written in Hebrew, (2) that it was written not earlier than *c.* A.D. 50, and therefore (3) that its author was in all probability a contemporary, though perhaps an elder contemporary, of Josephus and of the founders of the school of Jamnia. But this book contains a long passage (xlviii. 1-47) that is among the most regular and sustained examples of parallelism in the whole range of Hebrew literature; a sufficiently large portion of it may be cited here to prove this;

[1] Cp. R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch.*

the translation is in the main that of Dr. Charles; for the line division, which in one place (*v.* 14) involves an important change of punctuation, I am responsible.[1]

2 O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times, and
they stand before Thee;
Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away, and
they do not resist Thee:
Thou arrangest the method of the seasons, and they
obey Thee.
3 Thou alone knowest the goal of the generations,
And Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many.
4 Thou makest known the multitude of the fire,
And Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.
5 Thou explorest the limits of the heights,
And Thou scrutinisest the depths of the darkness.
6 Thou carest for the number which pass away that they
may be preserved,
And Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be.
7 Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made,
And the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not.
8 With nods of fear and indignation Thou givest command-
ment to the flames,
And they change into spirits,[2]

[1] The translation, without line division, referred to above is that in R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (1896). Since the above words were written, Dr. Charles has published a revised translation with division into parallel lines in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), vol. ii. p. 504 f. In this later translation Dr. Charles has adopted the punctuation in *v.* 14, given above; its correctness, indeed, becomes obvious so soon as the sustained parallelism of the passage is recognised. Verse 2 is now divided by Dr. Charles into six lines: the division into three, as above, shows the parallelism more clearly.

[2] I suspect corruption in *v.* 8 a, b. In the original text "flames" was probably a parallel term to "spirits" (cp. Ps. civ. 4), and not, as in the present text of the versions, that which changes into spirits. Moreover, the two lines are likely to have been more nearly equal to one another in length: the inequality between them presents a striking contrast to what is found in the rest of the poem.

And with a word Thou quickenest that which was not,
And with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come.
9 Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee,
And Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders.
10 Armies innumerable stand before Thee,
And they minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod.
11 Hear Thy servant,
And give ear to my petition.
12 For in a little time are we born,
And in a little time do we return.
13 But with Thee, hours are as a time (?),
And days as generations.
14 Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing;
And take not account of our works; 15 for what are we?
For lo! by Thy gift do we come into the world,
And we depart not of our own will.
16 For we said not to our parents, "Beget us,"
And we sent not to Sheol, saying, "Receive us."
17 What, then, is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath,
Or what are we that we should endure Thy judgment?
18 Protect us in Thy compassions,
And in Thy mercy help us.

The Apocalypse of Esdras (IV. Esdras) was probably written shortly after A.D. 100, and though it contains nothing quite so regular and sustained as the passage just cited from the Apocalypse of Baruch, a considerable number of passages are printed both by Professor Gunkel [1] and Mr. Box [2] as poetry, and, some (*e.g.* viii. 20-30) at least, with good reason.

[1] In E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT.*, ii. 352-401 (cp. p. 349).

[2] G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*; and also in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. R. H. Charles), ii. 542-624.

Parallelism, then, certainly continued into the second century A.D. to be a feature in Hebrew poetry, or in Hebrew literature written in a form differing from ordinary prose. Whether poetry distinguished by the sustained use of parallelism was still composed after the second century is doubtful;[1] but in this connexion two recently recovered documents may be very briefly referred to.

[1] Certainly no literary work that is at present generally admitted to be later than the second century is marked by such sustained parallelism as we find in parts of the Apocalypse of Baruch, or by anything approaching it. But the Talmud contains a few snatches of occasional poetry one or two of which, at least, are characterised by parallelism and by something closely resembling rhythms found in the Old Testament. The most pertinent example is that attributed in *Moed Kaṭan* 25 b to an elegist (ספדנא) on the death of Ḥanin who is described as חתניה דרבי נשיאה, which is interpreted by Levy (*Neuheb. Wörterbuch*, ii. 83 a) as meaning that Ḥanin was a son-in-law of R. Juda Nasi. The elegy alludes to the fact that Ḥanin died on the day that his son was born. It runs :—

שמחה לתוגה נהפנה | ששון ויגון נרבקו
בעת שמחתו נאנח | בעת חנינתו אבד חנינא

This may be rendered, though the last lines are not free from ambiguity (see Levy, *loc. cit.*) :

Joy was turned into weariness,
Gladness and sadness were united ;
When his gladness came, he sighed,
When his favour came, he that was favoured, perished.

The parallelism is obvious ; and the rhythm of the first distich is 3 : 3 (see below, p. 159 f.). Parallelism and rhythm are rather less conspicuous in another elegy cited at the same place, viz. :

תמרים הניעו ראש | על צדיק כתמר
נשים לילות בימים | על משים לילית בימים

The palm-trees shook their head
Over the righteous that was as a palm-tree (cp. Ps. xcii. 13).
(So) let us turn night into day (*i.e.* weep unremittingly)
Over him who turned night into day (in the study of the law).

Yet another elegy cited in the same place contains the lines

אם בארזים נפלה שלהבת | מה יעשו אזובי קיר.

If on the cedars the flame fell,
What can the hyssops on the wall do ?

Dr. Charles [1] finds a considerable element of poetry in the fragments of a Zadokite work of which the Hebrew text was first edited (with translation and introduction) by Dr. Schechter [2] in 1910. In the opinion of some this work is considerably later than IV. Esdras; but Dr. Charles has strong reasons for concluding that it was written before A.D. 70. Be the date, however, what it may, except in quotations from the Old Testament, *parallelism* in this work is not at all conspicuous; whether, therefore, the passages marked by Dr. Charles as possessing poetical form actually do so, turns on matters which have to be considered later. Happily, in this case the question can be considered, not through translations merely, but with the original text before us.

The Odes of Solomon, of which the Syriac text was first edited by Dr. Rendel Harris [3] in 1909, were scarcely written before A.D. 70, and they may belong to the second century A.D.; in the

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which recall, though the lines are longer, the ring of Ps. xi. 3. Two similar distichs follow. A further example occurs in *Ḥagigah* 15 b :—

אפילו שמר הפתח | לא עמר לפניך רבינו.

Even the keeper-of-the-door (of Gehenna)
Stood not his ground before thee, O our teacher.

As the sustained parallelism which is so characteristic of much of the Old Testament and Jewish literature to the second century A.D. appears to run back to origins in the popular poetry of the early Hebrews, so parallelism seems to have maintained an existence for some time in the occasional poetry of the later Jews, after it had ceased to be employed in more formal literature.

[1] *Fragments of a Zadokite work translated . . .* 1912.

[2] In *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. i.

[3] *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon published from the Syriac Version*, 1909 (ed. 2, 1911).

opinion of some they were written even later. The original language of these Odes is still undetermined. But some of them (*e.g.* v., vi., vii.) are strongly parallelistic in character, though Dr. Harris refrained from distinguishing the parallel members in his translation.

It was long ago pointed out by Lowth that parallelism can be retained almost unimpaired in a translation; easier still, therefore, was it for Jews to reproduce this feature in works written in the first instance in some other language than Hebrew; and to some extent they did so. The Book of Wisdom, which rests on no Hebrew original, but was written, as it survives, in Greek, is the best proof of this. It is possible that the author of Wisdom attempted to imitate other features of ancient Hebrew poetry as well as its parallelism in his Greek work; but these are questions that cannot be pursued now.

There is no other considerable book originally written in Greek which employs parallelism throughout; but it has been held with differing degrees of conviction and consensus of opinion that Tobit's prayer (Tob. xiii.), the Prayer of Manasses, the Song of the Three Holy Children, and the latter part of Baruch were written in Greek, or at least, not in Hebrew; and a Hebrew original for the Odes of Solomon was postulated neither by their first editor, nor by many who have followed him, though more recently Dr.

Abbott[1] has adduced some evidence which he thinks points to such an original.

The question of the original language of each of these works might, perhaps, with advantage, be reconsidered in connexion with the general question of the extent to which parallelism was adopted in Jewish writings not written in Hebrew. We have on the one hand the clear example of the use of parallelism in Wisdom, and on the other the exceedingly slight use of parallelism, for example, in the Sibylline oracles; and we may recall again in this connexion the avoidance of parallelism in mediaeval Hebrew poetry. These avoidances or absences of parallelism are certainly worthy of attention in view of the ease with which this feature of Hebrew poetry could have been reproduced in Greek works, and even combined, if necessary, with the use of Greek metres like the hexameters of the Jewish Sibylline books. Was it merely due to the fact that the one was writing in Hebrew and the other in Greek, that the author of the Apocalypse of Baruch in his loftier passages employs the form of ancient Hebrew poetry, whereas his contemporary, St. Paul, even in such a passage as 1 Corinthians xiii.,[2] avoids it? Or may we detect here the influences of different schools or literary traditions?

[1] E. A. Abbott, *Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet.*
[2] See above, p. 26, *n.* 3.

CHAPTER II

PARALLELISM: A RESTATEMENT

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THE literature of the Old Testament is divided into two classes by the presence or absence of what since Lowth has been known as *parallelismus membrorum*, or parallelism. The occurrence of parallelism characterises the books of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (in part), Lamentations, Canticles, the larger part of the prophetical books, and certain songs and snatches that are cited and a few other passages that occur in the historical books. Absence of parallelism characterises the remainder of the Old Testament, *i.e.* the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles (with slight exceptions in all these books as just indicated), Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ruth, and part of the prophetical books, including most of Ezekiel, the biographical parts of Jeremiah, the book of Jonah (except the psalm in chapter ii.), and some passages in most of the remaining prophetical books. It had become customary to

distinguish these two divisions of Hebrew literature as poetry and prose respectively : parallelism had come to be regarded as a mark of poetry, its absence as a mark of prose ; and by the application of the same test the non-canonical literature of the Jews from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. was likewise coming to be distinguished into its prose and poetical elements.

The validity of parallelism as a test to distinguish between prose and poetry in Hebrew literature might be, and has been either actually or virtually, challenged on two grounds : (1) that parallelism actually occurs in prose ; and (2) that parts of the Old Testament from which parallelism is absent are metrical and, therefore, poetical in form.

Parallelism is not a feature peculiar to Hebrew literature : [1] it is characteristic of parts of Babylonian literature, such as the Epics of Creation

[1] Nor even to Semitic literature. Many interesting illustrations from folk-songs and English literature are given by Dr. G. A. Smith in *The Early Poetry of Israel*, pp. 14-16. Yet in most of these there is more simple repetition without variation of terms than is common in Hebrew, and an even more conspicuous difference is the much less sustained use of parallelism. In view of the great influence of the Old Testament on English literature and the ease with which parallelism can be used in any language (cp. p. 32 above), it is rather surprising that parallelism, and even sustained parallelism, is not more conspicuous in English. But abundant illustrations of this sustained use may be found in the Finnish epic, *The Kalevala*, if Mr. Crawford's translation keeps in this respect at all close to the original, with which I have no acquaintance. Even here there are differences, as for example in the absence of the tendency, so marked in Hebrew, for parallelism to produce distichs. I cite a sufficiently long passage to illustrate what is a frequent, though not a constant, characteristic of the style of *The Kalevala* :—

(the *Enuma eliš* and others), the Gilgamesh epic and the hymns to the gods.[1] It is as apparent in translations from Babylonian as in the English versions of the Psalms or the prophets; as examples from Babylonian literature it may suffice to cite the well-known opening lines of *Enuma eliš*[2]—

When above the heaven was not named,
And beneath the earth bore no name,
And the primeval Apsu, the begetter of them,
And Mummu and Tiâmat, the mother of them all—

"Listen, bride, to what I tell thee:
In thy home thou wert a jewel,
Wert thy father's pride and pleasure,
'Moonlight,' did thy father call thee,
And thy mother called thee 'Sunshine,'
'Sea-foam' did thy brother call thee,
And thy sister called thee 'Flower.'
When thou leavest home and kindred,
Goest to a second mother,
Often she will give thee censure,
Never treat thee as her daughter,
Rarely will she give thee counsel,
Never will she sound thy praises.
'Brush-wood,' will the father call thee,
'Sledge of Rags,' thy husband's brother,
'Flight of Stairs,' thy stranger brother,
'Scare-crow,' will the sister call thee,
Sister of thy blacksmith husband;
Then wilt think of my good counsels,
Then wilt wish in tears and murmurs,
That as steam thou hadst ascended,
That as smoke thy soul had risen,
That as sparks thy life had vanished.
As a bird thou canst not wander
From thy nest to circle homeward,
Canst not fall and die like leaflets,
As the sparks thou canst not perish,
Like the smoke thou canst not vanish."

J. M. Crawford, *The Kalevala*, i. 341, 2.

[1] A convenient collection of all of these (transliterated text and translation) will be found in R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*.

[2] Cp. Rogers, pp. 3 ff.

and these lines from a hymn to the god Sin [1]—

When Thy word in heaven is proclaimed, the Igigi prostrate themselves;
When Thy word on earth is proclaimed, the Anunaki kiss the ground.
When Thy word on high travels like a storm-wind, food and drink abound;
When Thy word on earth settles down, vegetation springs up.
Thy word makes fat stall and stable, and multiplies living creatures;
Thy word causes truth and righteousness to arise, that men may speak the truth.

Whether these passages are prose or poetry, and whether, if poetry, they are such primarily because of the presence of parallelism, turns on the same considerations as the corresponding questions with reference to parallelistic passages in Hebrew: and further discussion of these must be postponed.

But parallelism is characteristic not only of much in Babylonian and Hebrew literature: it is characteristic also of much in Arabic literature. And the use of parallelism in Arabic literature is such as to give some, at least apparent, justification to the claim that parallelism is no true *differentia* between prose and poetry; for parallelism in Arabic accompanies *prose*—prose, it is true, of a particular kind, but at all events not poetry, according to the general opinion of Arabian grammarians and prosodists. Not only is paral-

[1] Cp. Rogers, pp. 144, 145.

lelism present in much Arabic prose: it is commonly absent from Arabic poetry, *i.e.* from the rhymed and carefully regulated metrical poetry of the Arabs. In illustration of this, two passages may be cited from the *Maḳâmât* of Ḥarîri. The translations here given are based on Chenery's,[1] but I have modified them here and there in order to bring out more clearly the regularity of the parallelism in the original: for the same reason I give the translation with line divisions corresponding to the parallel members. The first passage, which consists of part of the opening address of Abu Zayd in the first Maḳâmah, is from the prose fabric of Ḥarîri's work; the second is one of the many metrical poems which are wrought into the prose fabric. The parallelism of the prose passage, as of innumerable other passages which might equally well have served as examples, is as regular and as sustained as that of any passage in Hebrew or Babylonian literature, and indeed in some respects it is even more monotonously regular: it is complex too, for at times there is a double parallelism—a parallelism between the longer periods, the lines of the translation, and also between the parts of each of these (the half lines of the translation). This prose passage is as follows [2]:—

[1] T. Chenery, *The Assemblies of Al Ḥarîri*, i. 109 f. and 192.

[2] In order that parallelism may be better studied I have hyphened together word groups in English that correspond to a single word (combined in some cases with inseparable particles) in Arabic. But I have

O-thou-reckless in petulance, trailing the garment of vanity !
O-thou-headstrong in follies, turning-aside to idle-tales !
How long wilt-thou-persevere in thine error, and eat-sweetly-of the pasture of thy wrong ?
And how far wilt-thou-be-extreme in thy pride, and not abstain from thy wantonness ?
Thou provokest by-thy-rebellion the Master of thy forelock ;
And thou goest-boldly in-the-foulness of thy behaviour against the knower of thy secret ;
And thou hidest-thyself from thy neighbour, but thou-art in sight of thy watcher ;
And thou concealest-thyself from thy slave, but nothing is-concealed from thy Ruler.
Thinkest thou that thy state will-profit-thee when thy departure draweth-near ?
Or-that thy wealth will-deliver-thee, when thy deeds destroy-thee ?
Or-that thy repentance will-suffice for thee when thy foot slippeth ?
Or-that thy kindred will-lean to thee in-the-day-that thy judgment-place gathereth-thee ?
How-is-it thou-hast-walked not in-the-high-road of thy guidance, and hastened the treatment of thy disease ?
And blunted the edge of thine iniquity, and restrained thyself—thy worst enemy.
Is-not death thy doom ? What-then-is thy preparation ?
And is-not-grey-hair thy warning ? What-then-is thy excuse ?
And is-not-in the grave's-niche thy sleeping-place ? What-then-is thy speech ?
And is-not-to God thy going ? Who-then-is thy defender ?
Oft the time hath-awakened-thee, but-thou-hast-set-thyself-to-slumber :
And admonition hath-drawn-thee, but-thou-hast-strained-against-it ;
And warnings have-been-manifested to thee, but-thou-hast-made-thyself-blind ;

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generally omitted to hyphen the frequently recurring article, " of " (before a genitive), pronouns and the copulative particle (" and ") : none of these form separate words in Arabic.

And truth hath-been-established to thee, but-thou-hast-disputed-it;
And death hath-bid-thee-remember, but-thou-hast-sought-to-forget,
And it-hath-been-in-thy-power to impart, and thou-imparted'st not.

The poem I select as an example is translated by Chenery as follows :—

Say to him who riddles questions that I am the discloser of the secret which he hides.
Know that the deceased, in whose case the law preferred the brother of his spouse to the son of his father,
Was a man who, of his free consent, gave his son in marriage to his own mother-in-law: nothing strange in it.
Then the son died, but she was already pregnant by him, and gave birth to a son like him:
And he was the son's son without dispute, and brother of the grandfather's spouse without equivocation.
But the son of the true-born son is nearer to the grandfather, and takes precedence in the inheritance over the brother;
And therefore when he died, the eighth of the inheritance was adjudged to the wife for her to take possession;
And the grandson, who was really her brother by her mother, took the rest;
And the full brother was left out of the inheritance, and we say thou hast only to bewail him.
This is my decision which every judge who judges will pattern by, every lawyer.

Nothing could be more prosaic than this last passage: and the only approximation in it to parallelism is line 5; nevertheless it is, so far as form goes, a perfect poem in the original: the rhymes are correct, and the well-known metrical form called *khafîf* is maintained throughout.

So far, then, as Arabic literature is concerned, it is an unquestionable fact that sustained and regular parallelism is a frequent characteristic of prose, while the absence of parallelism is frequently characteristic of metrical poems. And yet this is not of course the whole truth even in regard to Arabic literature. Most literatures consist of poetry and prose: and what in them is not poetical in form is prose, and *vice versa*. But in Arabic there are *three* forms of composition: (1) *nathr*; (2) *naẓm*, or *šiʿr*; (3) *sajʿ*. The usual English equivalents for these three Arabic terms are (1) prose, (2) poetry, (3) rhymed prose; but "rhymed prose" is not, of course, a *translation* of *sajʿ*: that word signifies primarily a cooing noise such as is made by a pigeon; and its transferred use of a form of literary composition does not, as the English equivalent suggests, represent this form as a subdivision of prose. We should perhaps do more justice to some Arabic discussions or descriptions of *sajʿ* by terming it in English "unmetrical poetry";[1] and in some respects this "rhymed prose" or "unmetrical poetry" is more sharply marked off from ordinary

[1] "The oldest form of poetical speech was the *sajʿ*. Even after this stage of poetical form had long been surpassed and the metrical schemes had already been fully developed, the *sajʿ* ranked as a kind of *poetical* expression. Otherwise his opponents would certainly never have called Mohammed *šâʿir* (poet), for he never recited metrical poems, but only spoke sentences of *sajʿ*. In a saying attributed to Mohammed in the Tradition, too, it is said: 'This poetry is sajʿ.'"—Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, p. 59.

prose than from the metrical poetry between which and itself the simplest form of metrical verse, termed *rejez*,[1] may be regarded as a transitional style.

To the Arabic *saj'*, as *rhymed* prose, Hebrew literature has, indeed, little or nothing analogous to show; to *saj'* as *unmetrical* poetry possibly, and certainly in the opinion of some writers it has much. For example, if we disregard the rhyme, such passages as that cited above from Ḥarîri have, in respect of parallelism of terms and the structure of the corresponding clauses, much that is similar alike in Hebrew psalms and Hebrew prophecy. And to some of these we may return.

At this point I raise this question with reference to Hebrew, and a similar question might be raised with reference to Babylonian literature: ought we to recognise *three* forms of composition as in Arabic, or two only as in most literatures? Since rhyme is so conspicuous in Arabic, and so inconspicuous in Hebrew, this may at first seem a singularly ill-considered question: and yet it is not; for however prominent rhyme may be in Arabic poetry, it is perfectly possible to think the rhyme away without affecting the essential form of Arabic poetry, or of the Hebrew mediaeval poetry that was modelled on it. It would have been as easy for an Arabic poet, had he wished

[1] "Fundamentally *rejez* is nothing but rhythmically disciplined *saj'*." "Many Arabic prosodists do not admit that *rejez* possesses the character of *šî'r*."—Goldziher, *ibid.* pp. 76, 78.

it, as it was for Milton, to dispense with rhyme: his poetry would have remained sufficiently distinguished from prose by its rigid obedience to metrical laws. So, again, it is possible to think away rhyme from the rhymed prose without reducing that form of composition to plain prose; the parallelism, and a certain balance of the clauses, would still remain; and as a matter of fact much early Arabic parallelistic composition existed from which regular rhyme was absent.[1]

Had then the ancient Hebrew three forms of composition—metrical poetry and plain prose, and an intermediate type differing from poetry by the absence of metre, and from prose by obedience to certain laws governing the mutual relations between its clauses—a type for which we might as makeshifts employ the terms unmetrical poetry or parallelistic prose?

I am not going to answer that question immediately, nor, perhaps, at all directly. But it seems to me worth formulating, even if no certain answer to it can be obtained. It may help to keep possibilities before us: and, perhaps, also to prevent a fruitless conflict over terms. In the present discussion it is not of the first importance to determine whether it is an abuse of language

[1] Goldziher (*op. cit.* pp. 62 ff.) argues that rhyme first began to be employed in the formal public discourses or sermons (*khutba*) from the third century of the Hejira onwards. "The rhetorical character of such discourses in old time was concerned only with the parallelism of which use was made" (p. 64).

to apply the term poetry to any part of Hebrew literature that does not follow well-defined metrical laws simply on the ground that it is marked by parallelism; what is of importance is to determine if possible whether any parts of the Old Testament are in the strictest sense of the term metrical, and, alike whether that can be determined or not, to recognise the real distinction between what is parallelistic and what is not, to determine so far as possible the laws of this parallelism, and to recognise all parts of the ancient Hebrew literature that are distinguished by parallelism as related to one another in respect of form.

It is because I approach the question thus that I treat of parallelism before metre: parallelism is unmistakable, metre in Hebrew literature is obscure: the laws of Hebrew metre have been and are matters of dispute, and at times the very existence of metre in the Old Testament has been questioned. But let us suppose that Sievers, to whose almost overwhelming contributions [1] to this subject we owe so much, whatever our final judgment as to some even of his main conclusions may be, is right in detecting metre not only in what have commonly been regarded as the poetical parts of the Old Testament, but also throughout such books as Samuel and Genesis; [2]

[1] See below, pp. 143-154.

[2] Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, ii. "Die hebräische Genesis," and *Metrische Studien*, iii. "Samuel."

even then the importance and value of the question formulated above remains. It is true that some questions may require resetting: if Samuel and Genesis are metrical throughout, if even the genealogies in Genesis v. and xxxvi. are, so far as form goes, no less certainly poems than the very prosaic Arabic poem cited above, it will become less a question whether the Old Testament contains metrical poems than whether it contains any plain prose at all. But the distinction between what is parallelism and what is not will remain as before: we shall still have to distinguish between parallelistic prose and prose that is not parallelistic, or, if the entire Old Testament be metrical, between parallelistic and non-parallelistic poetry.

The general description and the fundamental analysis of parallelism as given by Lowth, and adopted by innumerable subsequent writers, are so well known that they need not be referred to at length here: nor will it be necessary to give illustrations of the familiar types of parallelism known as synonymous and antithetic. But I may recall Lowth's own general statement in the Preliminary Dissertation (*Isaiah*, ed. 3, p. xiv): "The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense; or similar to it in the form of gram-

matical construction; these I call parallel lines, and the words or phrases, answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms. Parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts: parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic and parallels synthetic."

The vulnerable point in Lowth's exposition of parallelism as the law of Hebrew poetry lies in what he found it necessary to comprehend under the term synthetic parallelism: his examples include, indeed, many couplets to which the term parallelism can with complete propriety be applied; in such couplets the second line *repeats* by means of one or more synonymous terms *part* of the sense of the first; and by means of one or more other terms *adds* something fresh, to which nothing in the first line is parallel. In virtue of the presence of some parallel terms such lines may be called parallel, and in virtue of the presence of some non-parallel terms they may be called synthetic, or in full the lines may be termed *synthetic parallels*, and the relation between them *synthetic parallelism*; but more convenient terms for such lines, which are of very frequent occurrence,[1] and for the relation between them, would be *incomplete parallels* and *incomplete parallelism*. In any case, term them as we will, such examples as these are in reality not distinct from, but mere subdivisions of synonymous or antithetic parallel-

[1] Many examples are cited below: see pp. 72-82.

ism as the case may be. On the other hand there are other examples of what Lowth called synthetic parallelism in which no term in the second line is parallel to any term in the first, but in which the second line consists entirely of what is fresh and additional to the first; and in some of these examples the two lines are not even parallel to one another by the correspondence of similar grammatical terms. Two such lines as these may certainly be called synthetic, but they are parallel to one another merely in the way that the continuation of the same straight line is parallel to its beginning; whereas synonymous and antithetic parallelisms, even of the incomplete kind, do really correspond to two separate and, strictly speaking, parallel lines. Now, if the term parallelism, even though it be qualified by prefixing the adjective synthetic, be applied to lines which, though synthetically related to one another, are connected by no parallelism of terms or sense, as well as to lines which are connected by parallelism of terms or sense, then this term, (synthetic) parallelism, will really conceal an all-important difference under a mere semblance of similarity. And, indeed, Lowth himself seems to have been at least half-conscious that he was making the term synthetic parallelism cover too much: for he admits that "the variety in the form of this synthetic parallelism is very great, and the degrees of resemblance almost infinite; so that

sometimes the scheme of the parallelism is very subtile and obscure" (*Lectures*, ii. 52); he very fairly adds in illustration a really test couplet, viz.—

> I also have anointed my king on Sion,
> The mountain of my sanctity (Psa. ii. 6).[1]

He perceives, though he does not dwell on the point, that this couplet marks zero among "the degrees of resemblance almost infinite"; for when he says, "the general form and nature of the Psalm requires that it should be divided into two parts or versicles; as if it were,

> 'I also have anointed my king;
> I have anointed him in Sion, the mountain of my sanctity,'"

he supplies, by repeating the words, "I have anointed," the one and only point of resemblance that exists between the two lines in his own reconstruction of a couplet which, in its true original form, is really distinguished by the entire absence of parallelism between its lines. As in this instance, so often, the use of the term synthetic parallelism has served to conceal the fact that couplets of lines entirely non-parallel may occur in poems in which most of the couplets are parallels, and in which the "general form and nature" of the poem suggest a division of the synthetic but non-parallel elements "into two parts or versicles."

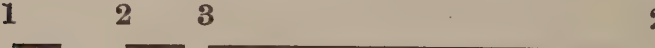
[1] The verse is so divided by Lowth; for reasons which will appear later it should rather be divided:

> I also have anointed my king,
> On Sion, the mountain of my holiness.

Not only did Lowth thus experience some doubt whether parallelism as analysed by himself was the one law of Hebrew poetry, but he expressly concludes his discussion of these " subtile and obscure " examples of synthetic parallelism with a suggestion that behind and accompanying parallelism there may be some *metrical* principle, though he judged that principle undiscovered and probably undiscoverable.

In spite of the general soundness of Lowth's exposition of parallelism, then, there is, perhaps, sufficient reason for a restatement; and that I shall now attempt.

The extreme simplicity of Hebrew narrative has often been pointed out: the principle of attaching clause to clause by means of the " waw conversive " construction allows the narrative to flow on often for long periods uninterrupted, and, so to speak, in one continuous straight line. Now and again, and in certain cases more often, the line of successive events is broken to admit of some circumstance being described; but the same single line is quickly resumed. An excellent example of this is found in Genesis i.: with the exception of verse 2, which describes the conditions existing at the time of the creative act mentioned in verse 1, the narrative runs on in a single continuous line down to verse 26; thus—



The continuity of a single line of narrative is in parts of Genesis ii. nearly as conspicuous: as to other parts of Genesis ii. something will have to be said later.[1] But if we turn to certain other descriptions of creation elsewhere in the Old Testament, we immediately discern a difference. Thus we read in Psalm xxxiii. 6, 7, 9 :—

By the word of Yahweh the heavens were made,
  And by the breath of his mouth all their host.
He gathered as into a flask the waters of the sea,
  He put into treasure-houses the deeps.
For *he* spake and it came to pass,
  He commanded and it stood sure;

and in Isaiah xlv. 12 the words of Yahweh run as follows :—

I made the earth,
  And man upon it I created;
My hands stretched out the heavens,
  And all their host I commanded.

And again in Proverbs viii. 24-29 creation is described in a series of subordinate periods :—

When there were no depths . . .
  When there were no fountains abounding with water;
Before the mountains were settled,
  Before the hills . . .
While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
  Nor the beginning of the dust of the world;
When he established the heavens . . .
  When he set a circle upon the face of the deep;
When he made firm the skies above,
  When the fountains of the deep became strong,
When he gave to the sea its bound,
  That the waters should not transgress his commandment,
  When he marked out the foundations of the earth.

[1] See pp. 221 f.

Now whether, as Sievers maintains, Genesis i. is as strictly metrical as Psalms, Proverbs or Isaiah xl.-lxvi., or whether, as has been commonly assumed, Genesis i. is plain, unadorned and unmetrical prose, between Genesis i. on the one hand and the passages just cited from Psalm xxxiii., Isaiah xlv. and Proverbs viii. there are these differences : (1) whereas Genesis i. is carried along a *single* line of narrative, the other passages are, in the main at least, carried forward along *two* lines, parallel to one another in respect of their meaning, and of the terms in which that meaning is expressed ; (2) whereas Genesis i. consists in the main of connected clauses so that the whole may be represented by a single line *rarely* broken, the other passages consist of a number of independent clauses or sentences, so that they must be represented by lines *constantly* broken, and at fairly *regular* intervals, thus—

Stated otherwise, as contrasted with the simpler style of Genesis i., these other passages are characterised by the *independence* of their successive *clauses* or short sentences, and the *repetition* of the same thought or statement *by means of corresponding terms* in successive short clauses or sections. Where repetition and what may be termed parallelism in its fullest and strictest sense occur, a constant breaking of the line of narrative or statement is the necessary consequence : a

thought is expressed, or a statement made, but the writer, instead of proceeding at once to express the natural sequel to his thought or the next statement, breaks off and harks back in order to repeat in a different form the thought or statement which he has already expressed, and only after this break and repetition pursues the line of his thought or statement; that is to say, one line is, as it were, forsaken to pursue the parallel line up to a corresponding point, and then after the break the former line is resumed. But the break in the line and the independence of clauses may occur even where there is no repetition of thought or correspondence of terms; just as breaks necessarily occur *occasionally* in such simple narratives as that of Genesis i. The differences between the two styles here shade off into one another; and everything ultimately depends on the frequency and *regularity* with which the breaks occur. Where the breaks occur with as much regularity as when the successive clauses are parallel to one another, we may, even though parallelisms of terms or thought between the clauses are absent, term the style parallelistic, as preserving one of the necessary consequences of actual parallelism.

But not only is the question whether a passage belongs to the one style or the other, so far as it depends on the recurrence of breaks and the consequent independence of the clauses, one of degree;

the question whether two such independent lines are correspondent or parallel to one another is also at times a question both of degree and of exact interpretation. To return to the passages already cited; when the Psalmist writes:

He gathered as into a flask the waters of the sea,

and then adds,

He put into treasure houses the deeps,

it is clear that at the end of the first line he breaks the straight line of continuous statement: the second line adds nothing to the bare sense, and it carries the writer no further forward than the first; the two sentences thus correspond strictly to two *equal* and parallel lines: where the first begins the second also begins, and where the first ends there also the second ends: each line records exactly the same fact and the same amount of fact by means of different but synonymous terms. And the same is true of the two lines,

For he spake and it came to pass,
He commanded and it stood sure.

We can without difficulty and with perfect propriety represent these two couplets thus—

But what are we to say of,

I made the earth,
And man upon it I created?

This is certainly not the simplest form of putting the thought to be expressed: the terms "made"

and "created" are synonymous, and the whole thought could have been fully expressed in the briefer form, "I made the earth, and man upon it." But have we, even so, completely delimited substance and form, the thought to be expressed and the art used in its expression? Probably not; the writer continues:

> My hands stretched out the heavens,
> And all their host I commanded.

Here we cannot simply drop a term as in the previous lines and leave the sense unimpaired; but the correspondence of thought between the two sets of statements may yield a clue to the essential thought of the whole; as the first two lines mean no more than this: I created the earth and its inhabitants; so the second means simply this: I created the heavens and their inhabitants. But have we even yet determined the fundamental thought of the passage? Did the writer really mean to express two distinct thoughts in each set of lines? Was he thinking of the creation of man as something independent of the creation of the earth? Did he mean to refer first to one creative act and then to a second and independent creative act? Or did he regard the creation of man as part of the creation of the earth, so that his lines are really *parallel* statements, a parallelism, to wit, of the part with the whole, and not *successive* statements? This seems to me most probable; his thought was:

Yahweh created the heavens and the earth ; but instead of expressing this in its simplest form by a sentence that would properly be represented by a single continuous line, he has artistically expressed it in a form that may once again, though with less complete propriety, perhaps, than in the case of the couplet from Psalm xxxiii., be expressed by two groups of parallel and broken lines :

If the thought of man and the host of heaven had a greater independence than this view recognises, we must still treat the statement (which is not, like Genesis i., the continuous statement of successive acts) not as a continuous line, but as a line broken at very regular intervals, thus—

though, if we wished diagrammatically to bring out the similarity in the verbal cast or grammatical build of the clauses rather than the independence of the thought, we might still adopt the form—

Before leaving this diagrammatic description I merely add, without illustrating the statement, that a poem rarely proceeds far along two parallel lines each broken at the same regular intervals, thus—

Either the two lines are broken at different points,

or one is for the time being followed to the neglect of the other, thus—

I pass now by a different method to a more detailed examination of parallel lines, and of the degree and character of the correspondence between them. Irrespective of particles a line or section to which another line or section approximately corresponds, consists of two, three, four, five or six words, very seldom of more. *Complete parallelism* may be said to exist when every single term in one line is parallel to a term in the other, or when at least every term or group of terms in one line is paralleled by a corresponding term or group of terms in the other. *Incomplete parallelism* exists when only some of the terms in each of two corresponding lines are parallel to one another, while the remaining terms express something which is stated once only in the two lines. Incomplete parallelism is far more frequent than complete parallelism. Both complete parallelism and incomplete parallelism admit of many varieties; and this great variety and elasticity of parallelism may perhaps best be studied by means of symbols, even though it is difficult to reduce all the phenomena to rigidly constant and unambiguous symbolic formulæ. I have already elsewhere [1] suggested that the varieties of parallelism may be con-

[1] *Isaiah* ("International Critical Comm."), p. lxvi.

veniently described by denoting the terms in the first line by letters—a . b . c, etc.—and those in the second line by the differentiated letters—a′ . b′ . c′, where the terms, without being identical (in which case a . b . c would be used for the second line as well as for the first), correspond, or by fresh letters—d . e . f, where fresh terms corresponding to nothing in the first line occur.

The simplest form of complete parallelism is represented by

a . b
a′ . b′ :

here each line consists of two terms each of which corresponds to a term in the corresponding position in the other line. Examples are—

אחלקם ביעקב
ואפיצם בישראל

I-will-divide-them [1] in-Jacob,
And-I-will-scatter-them in-Israel.—Gen. xlix. 7c.d.

משגיח מן־החלנות
מציץ מן־החרכים

He-looketh-in at-the-windows,
He-glanceth through-the-lattice.
Cant. ii. 9 (the same chapter contains several other examples).

נעויתי משמוע
נבהלתי מראות

I-am-bent-with-pain at-what-I-hear,
I-am-dismayed at-what-I-see.—Isa. xxi. 3.

[1] Where the suffix in one line corresponds to a noun in the other it may sometimes be convenient to represent the suffix by an independent symbol. If both suffixes were so represented here the scheme would be

a . b . c
a′ . b . c′.

כי רבו פשעיהם
עצמו משבותיהם

For their-transgressions are-many,
Their-backturnings are-increased.—Jer. v. 6.
Hear Thy-servant,
And-give-ear-to my-petition.—Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 12.

Complete parallelism between lines each containing three terms will be represented by

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′

Examples are—

חכלילי עינים מיין
ולבן שנים מחלב

Red-are his-eyes with-wine,
And-white-are his-teeth with-milk.—Gen. xlix. 12.

מנשמת אלוה יאבדו
ומרוח אפו יכלו

By-the-breath of-God they-perish,
And-by-the-blast of-his-anger are-they-consumed.—Job. iv. 9.

כי־שמים כעשן נמלחו
והארץ כבגד תבלה

For the-heavens like-smoke shall-vanish-away (?),
And-the-earth like-a-garment shall-wax-old.—Isa. li. 6.

More frequent than the fundamental scheme as given above and just illustrated are variations upon it, of which examples will be given below.

Complete parallelism of lines with four terms each, the terms being symmetrically arranged, will be represented by

a . b . c . d
a′ . b′ . c′ . d′

An example is—

מענה רך ישיב חמה
ודבר עצב יעלה אף

A-soft answer turneth-away wrath,
But-a-grievous word stirreth-up anger.—Prov. xv. 1.

This scheme occurs not infrequently in antithetic proverbs, and Proverbs xv. contains several other examples; but it is rare elsewhere. Variations on this scheme also will be given below.

Where the parallel sections consist of more than four terms, and sometimes when they contain as few as four terms, each section tends to break up into two of those independent clauses which we have seen to be in part the necessary consequence of parallelism, and in part a common, even when not a necessary, accompaniment of the style distinguished from simple narrative. For example, Isaiah xlix. 2 is one of the nearest approximations to the scheme,

a . b . c . d . e . f
a′ . b′ . c′ . d′ . e′ . f′

but here the last two terms in each section stand independent of the foregoing; thus:

And-he-made my-mouth as-a-sharp sword: in-the-shadow of-his-hand he-hid-me;
And-he-made-me[1] into-a-polished arrow: in-his-quiver he-concealed-me.

[1] The suffix *me* (b′) is here parallel to the independent term *my mouth* (b); and so is the suffix *his* in *his quiver* to the independent term *his hand*: in this case, however, I have represented *shadow of his hand* under the single symbol (e).

Such a combination of clauses is commonly termed "alternate parallelism" and is said to consist of four lines, of which the third is parallel to the first and the fourth to the second. This may be a convenient description: but the main point is that, within the main independent sections indicated by the parallelism, other almost equally independent breaks giving rise to subordinate independent clauses occur. This fact is emphasised in many specimens of Arabic "rhymed prose"; in the passage already cited on pp. 42 f. from Ḥarîri, almost all the parallel sections fall into two independent clauses; and it is these independent, but, from the point of view of the parallelism, subordinate, sections that rhyme with one another; that is to say, similarity of rhyme connects, while emphasising their distinction, the shorter independent clauses which are commonly not parallel to one another, and change of rhyme marks off the well-defined longer sections which are regularly parallel to one another. It is interesting to observe that in the lines cited from Isaiah xlix. it is the entire parallel periods and not the subsections that rhyme with one another, though in view of the irregular use of rhyme in Hebrew this may be a mere accident—

וישם פי כחרב חדה בצל ידו החביאֵני
וישימני לחץ ברור באשפתו הסתירֵני

In the illustrations of parallelism which have

been given so far not only has there been complete correspondence, term by term, between the parallel lines, but each corresponding term in the second line has occurred in the exactly corresponding position in the second line. But in any considerable passage Hebrew writers introduce in various ways great variety of effect, a far greater variety, I believe, than was commonly sought or obtained by Arabic writers. These varieties of parallelism can be readily and conveniently shown by a use such as I have suggested of symbols. I proceed to classify and illustrate some of the chief classes of variations on the fundamental schemes which have been already described and illustrated.

I

Variety is attained by varying the position of the corresponding terms in the two lines.

In the simplest form of parallelism, which consists of lines containing two terms only, only one variation is possible from the scheme,

a . b
a′ . b′

of which several illustrations have already been given. This of course is

a . b
b′ . a′

and this variation occurs very frequently, *e.g.*—

אם תבקשנה ככסף
וכמטמנים תחפשנה

If thou-seek-her as-silver,
And-as-for-hid-treasures search-for-her.—Prov. ii. 4.

אל־תצאי השדה
ובדרך אל־תלכי

Go-not-forth into-the-field,
And-by-the-way walk-not.—Jer. vi. 25.

Further examples will be found, for example, in Deuteronomy xxxii. 16, xxxiii. 9 d, e.

As the number of terms increases the greater becomes the possibility of variety and the number of actual variations; thus

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′

can alternate with

a . b . c
a′ . c′ . b′

or any of the other four possible permutations. Of the variation just given, Proverbs ii. 2 is an example—

להקשיב לחכמה אזנך
תטה לבך לתבונה

So-that-thou-incline unto-wisdom thine-ear,
(And-) apply thine-heart to-understanding.

The same variation of order, but with the repetition instead of a variation of the second term of

the first line at the end of the second line (*i.e.* b instead of b′), occurs in Job xxxii. 17—

אענה אף־אני חלקי
אחוה דעי אף־אני

Will-answer I also my-part,
Will-declare my-knowledge I also.

An example may be found in Deuteronomy xxxii. 30 a, b of

a . b . c
b′ . a′ . c′

איכה ירדף אחד אלף
ושנים יניסו רבבה

How should one pursue a-thousand,
Or-two put-to-flight ten-thousand.

The same poem also contains four examples (Deuteronomy xxxii. 3, 18, 23, 38) of the scheme

a . b . c
c′ . a′ . b′

It may suffice to cite *v.* 18 (reading תשה for תשי)—

צור ילדך תשה
ותשכח אל מחללך

The rock that-bare-thee thou-wast-unmindful-of,
And-forgattest the God that-gave-thee-birth.

Another example of this scheme may be found in Proverbs v. 5.

The tendency in poetry to give the verb its normal (prose) position at the beginning of the first line, but, in order to gain variety, to throw

the verb to the end of the second line,[1] renders the two remaining variations of the fundamental scheme, viz.—

a . b . c
b′ . c′ . a′

and

a . b . c
c′ . b′ . a′

very frequent, though of course both of these schemes may also arise from other causes.[2] Examples of the former of the two schemes just given are—

עַל־כֵּן הִכָּם אַרְיֵה מִיָּעַר
זְאֵב עַרְבוֹת יְשָׁדְדֵם

Therefore shall-slay-them a-lion out-of-the-forest,
A-wolf of-the-steppes shall-spoil-them.—Jer. v. 6.

אַל־תִּתְהַדַּר לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ
וּבִמְקוֹם גְּדוֹלִים אַל־תַּעֲמֹד

Glorify-not-thyself in-the-presence of-the-king,
And-in-the-place of-great-men stand-not.—Prov. xxv. 6.

Four further examples may be found in Proverbs ii. 5, 8, 10, 20. See also *e.g.* Job iii. 6 b, c; Amos v. 23; Isaiah xi. 6 a, b, lx. 16 a, b; Judith xvi. 10 (the last couplet in the passage cited above, p. 25).

[1] The alternative of throwing the verb to the end of the first line, and giving it the normal (prose) position in the second line, thus bringing the two verbs together, is much less frequent. But a good example of this is Deut. xxxii. 38: see also *vv.* 3 and 18 in the same chapter.

[2] As *e.g.* in Job iv. 17.

Examples of

a . b . c
c′ . b′ . a′

are

מי־מדד בשעלו מים
ושמים בזרת תכן

Who hath-measured with-the-hollow-of-his-hand the waters,
Or-the-heavens with-a-span hath-regulated ?—Isa. xl. 12.

וימלאו אסמיך שבע
ותירוש יקביך יפרצו

That thy-barns may-be-filled-with plenty
And-that with-new-wine thy-vats may-overflow.
—Prov. iii. 10.

See also *e.g.* Isaiah xl. 26 c, d, 27 c, d ; Amos v. 7 ; Psalm iii. 8 c, d.

The *possible* variations on

a . b . c . d
a′ . b′ . c′ . d′

are of course much more numerous ; the actual examples are far fewer, partly because *complete* parallelism over these longer periods is much rarer, partly because these parallelisms in four terms occur particularly in Proverbs, and proverbs, being complete in themselves, do not call for the variety which is naturally enough desired in a long continuous passage. It may suffice to refer to one variation : when the first line begins with a verb and its object, immediately following, is expressed by an independent term, and the desire for variety throws the corresponding clause to

the end of the second line, the scheme naturally produced is

a . b . c . d
c′ . d′ . a′ . b′

as for example in

והכה [1]ארץ בשבט פיו
וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע

And-he-shall-smite the-violent[1] with-the-rod of-his-mouth,
And-with-the-breath of-his-lips shall-he-slay the-wicked.
—Isa. xi. 4.

II

Another way of obtaining variety is to use in the second line two or more terms which, taken together, are parallel in sense to a corresponding number of terms in the first line, though the separate terms of the one combination are not parallel to the separate terms of the other combination. In its extreme form parallelism of this variety consists of two entire lines completely parallel in sense but with no two terms taken separately parallel to one another.[2] Denoting correspondence as before by a . a′, etc., and the number of terms above one in which particular corresponding ideas are expressed by a figure attached to the letters, the kind of schemes that occur are—

a2 . b
a′2 . b′

[1] Reading ארץ for ארץ, *the earth*.
[2] See *e.g.* Gen. xlix. 15 c, d, 20; Ps. xxi. 6; Job iii. 10, 23, iv. 14.

For example—

עדה וצלה שמען קולי
נשי למך האזנה אמרתי

Adah and-Ṣillah, hear my-voice,
Ye-wives of-Lamech give-ear-to my-word.—Gen. iv. 23.

Here, too, further variety may be obtained by varying the position of the corresponding terms or groups of terms, so that such schemes as

a . b2
b′2 . a′

arise; an example of this is Proverbs ii. 17,

העזבת אלוף נעוריה
ואת ברית אלהיה שכחה

Who-forsaketh the-friend of-her-youth,
And the-covenant of-her-God forgetteth.

And another very effective variation arises when what is expressed by two terms in the first line is expressed by one in the second line, which in turn has two other terms corresponding to one in the first: one such variation is

a2 . b
a′ . b′2

which is exemplified by Genesis xlix. 24,

ותשב באיתן קשתו
ויפזו זרעי ידיו

And-his-bow abode firm,
And-the-arms of-his-hands were-agile—

where the two words ותשב באיתן, *abode firm*, taken

together are parallel to ויפזו, *were agile*, and the single term קשתו, *his-bow*, to the two terms זרעי ידיו, *the-arms of-his-hands*, taken together.

An example of

a . b . c2
a . c′ . b′2

is afforded by Job iii. 17,

שם רשעים חדלו רגז
ושם ינוחו יגיעי כח

where ינוחו, *are-at-rest*, corresponds to חדלו רגז, *cease-from raging*, and the single term *wicked* to the phrase יגיעי כח, which is compound in Hebrew, though it is represented by the single word *weary* in E.V.

Once more in Deuteronomy xxxii. 11,

יפרש כנפיו יקחהו
ישאהו על-אברתו

He-spread-out his-wings, he-took-him,
He-lifted-him-up upon-his-pinions,

the single term על-אברתו, *upon-his-pinions*, at the end of the second line is parallel to the two terms יפרש כנפיו, *he-spread-out his-wings*, at the beginning of the first line, taken together, and the scheme is

a2 . b
b′ . a′

Further examples of some of these or similar schemes will be found in Deuteronomy xxxii. 22 c, d, 35 c, d; Psalms ii. 2 a, b, 9, lxviii. 10;

Proverbs xv. 9; Job iii. 25, iv. 4, xxxiii. 11; Canticles ii. 3 c, d, 12.

Occasionally one or other of the compound parallel phrases is interrupted by the insertion of another parallel term in the midst of it; so, for example, in Psalm vi. 6,

כי אין במות זכרך
בשאול מי יודה לך

For there-is in-death no-remembrance-of-thee;
In-Sheol who shall-praise thee?

death and *Sheol* are parallel terms, and the phrase *there is no remembrance of thee* to the interrogative phrase, which is equivalent to a negative statement, *who shall praise thee*? But in the first line the parallel term is inserted between the two parts of the parallel phrase.

III

The third main method of introducing variety into parallelism and avoiding the monotonous repetition of the same scheme consists in the adoption of various forms of incomplete parallelism.

The variety of effect rendered possible by this method is immense, except in the shortest parallels consisting of two terms only: with these the fundamental variations are reduced to two, viz.—

a . b
b′ . c

and

a . b
a′ . c

Examples of these are—

מדוע קדמוני ברכים
ומה שדים כי־אינק

Wherefore did-the-knees receive-me,
And-why the-breasts that I-should-suck (Job iii. 12),

and

צרה החזקתני
חיל כיולדה

Anguish hath-seized-me,
Pangs as-of-a-woman-in-travail (Jer. vi. 24),

unless we prefer to treat the former of these examples on the ground of the differentiation of the interrogative particles as an example of

a . b . c
a′ . c′ . d

and the latter example as

a . b
a′2

The latter kind of ambiguity frequently arises.

Further variety is obtained when variations corresponding to those illustrated under I. and II. are combined with incomplete parallelism: this frequently happens, especially when one at least of the parallel members contains more than two terms. But before giving illustrations of such variations it will be convenient to point out that

incomplete parallelisms fall into two broad classes which may be distinguished as *incomplete parallelism with compensation* and *incomplete parallelism without compensation.* If one line contains a given number of terms and another line a smaller number of terms, the parallelism is generally[1] incomplete; such incomplete parallelism may be termed incomplete parallelism without compensation; but if the two lines contain the same number of terms, though only some of the terms in the two lines are parallel, the lines may be said to constitute incomplete parallelism with compensation. Thus such schemes as

a . b . c
a′ . b′

or

a . b . c
a′2

are incomplete without compensation; whereas such schemes as

a . b . c
a′ . d . c′

or

a . b . c
a′2 . b′

are incomplete parallelism with compensation.

[1] Not invariably; for such schemes as

a2 . b
a′ . b′

give to the two lines an unequal number of terms, and yet the parallelism may be said to be complete. See *e.g.* Lam. ii. 11, cited below, p. 97.

I now give illustrations of different schemes of both types.

A

Incomplete parallelism without compensation.

ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה
ויעציך כבתחלה

I-will-restore thy-judges as-at-the-first,
And-thy-counsellors as-at-the-beginning (Isa. i. 26),

is an example of

a . b . c
b′ . c′

and so are Proverbs ii. 18; Canticles ii. 1, 14; Numbers xxiii. 19 c, d, 24 a, b, xxiv. 5 a, b; Psalm vi. 2; Deuteronomy xxxii. 7 c, d, 21 a, b, 34.[1]

רכב בשמים בעזרך
ובגאותו שחקים

Who-rideth through-the-heavens as-thy-help,
And-in-his-dignity through-the-skies (Deut. xxxiii. 26),

[1] A further example of this scheme occurs in the present text of Hos. vii. 1—

ונגלה עון אפרים | ורעות שמרון

Revealed are the iniquity of Ephraim
And the wickedness of Samaria.

On the second of these lines Harper ("International Crit. Comm.") remarks: "Here a word is needed to complete the parallelism as well as the metre." But this is incorrectly put, unless it can be shown that incomplete parallelism is impossible, or improbable in this connexion; and this cannot be done in view of another case of incomplete parallelism (a . b . c | a′ . c′) in *v.* 3, which Harper retains. Since the line quoted above and *v.* 3 are *possibly* not metrically identical (*v.* 3 being perhaps 3 : 3), a *metrical* consideration in favour of supplying a word in *v.* 1 *may* survive; but the argument from parallelism is invalid.

is an example of

a . b . c
c′ . b′

and so is Isaiah xlii. 23 a, b.

איש הרגתי לפצעי
וילד לחבורתי

A man have I slain for wounding me,
And a youth for bruising me (Gen. iv. 23),

is an example of

a . b . c
a′ . c′

and so is Hosea vii. 3.

כי מגפן סדם גפנם
ומשדמת עמרה

For of the vine of Sodom is their vine,
And of the fields of Gomorrah (Deut. xxxii. 32),

is an example of

a . b . c
a′ . b′

B

Incomplete parallelism with compensation.

יהוה בצאתך משעיר
בצעדך משדה אדם

Yahweh, when-thou-wentest-forth out-of-Seir,
When-thou-marchedst out-of-the-field of-Edom (Jud. v. 4),

is an example of

a . b . c
b′ . c′2

and other examples are Deuteronomy xxxii. 13 c, d, xxxiii. 23; Job iii. 11; Isaiah xli. 26 a, b, lx. 3.

וישכן ישראל בטח
בדד עין יעקב

And-so-dwelt Israel securely,
By-itself the-fountain of-Jacob (Deut. xxxiii. 28),

is an example of

a . b . c
c′ . b′2

and other examples are Amos v. 24; Proverbs ii. 1, 7; Job iii. 20; while Isaiah xliii. 3 c, d exemplifies the scheme

a . b . c
c′2 . b′

In Judges v. 26,

ידה ליתד תשלחנה
וימינה להלמות עמלים

Her-hand to-the-tent-peg she-stretched-forth,
And-her-right-hand to-the-workmen's mallet,

will be found an example of

a . b . c
a′ . b′2

and another example of the same scheme in Psalm xxi. 11.

Examples of compensation by means of a fresh term or terms are—

יהוה מסיני בא
וזרח משעיר למו

Yahweh from-Sinai came,
And-beamed-forth from-Seir unto-them (Deut. xxxiii. 2),

which is an example of

a . b . c
c′ . b′ . d

and

ישימו ליהוה כבוד
ותהלתו באיים יגידו

Let-them-ascribe unto-Yahweh glory,
And-his-praise in-the-isles let-them-declare (Isa. xlii. 12),

which is an example of

a . b . c
c′ . d . a′

Examples of distichs in which each line has but one parallel term and two terms non-parallel are given below (p. 94), and instances of compensation by a fresh term in lines containing two terms only have already been given above (p. 73).

I will conclude the present discussion with two illustrations of the value of a minuter analysis of parallelism than has hitherto been considered necessary, and of some such method as I have been suggesting of measuring or classifying the various types of parallelism.

An effective scheme of parallelism that occasionally occurs consists of two lines each containing three terms but held together by a single parallel term in each line, these parallel terms standing one at the end of the first line, and the other at the beginning of the second. The scheme is—

a . b . c
c′ . d . e

Now, if the articulation of the parallelism is not observed, couplets of this type are reduced to ordinary prose, or even to nonsense, or at best feeble repetition; but if it is properly articulated, the couplet is an effective form of "synthetic parallelism" as Lowth would have called it, of incomplete parallelism with compensation as I should term it. Examples of this type occurring in Genesis xlix. 9 (cf. Num. xxiv. 9) and Deuteronomy xxxiii. 11 are correctly articulated in the Revised Version:

He-stooped-down, he-couched as-a-lion,
And-as-a-lioness: who shall-rouse-him-up?

Smite-through the-loins of-them-that-rise-up-against-him,
And-of-them-that-hate-him, that they-rise-not-again.

But if the parallelism is not correctly perceived, and the words otherwise articulated, how unsatisfactory does the former of these couplets become! "He stooped down, he couched as a lion and as a lioness: who shall rouse him up?" This suggests a comparison with two different beasts, whereas the parallelism really expresses comparison with the lion-class, which it denotes by the use of two synonymous terms. Yet this very mistaken articulation is found in Numbers xxiii. 23, both in the Revised Version and, I regret to say, in my commentary on Numbers. If we articulate

Now shall it be said of Jacob and Israel,
What hath God wrought!

the natural suggestion is that Jacob and Israel are different entities, which they are not; Jacob and Israel are here, as elsewhere in these poems (Num. xxiii. 7, 10, 21, 23; xxiv. 5, 17, 18 f.), synonymous terms belonging to different members of the parallelism. The proper articulation of the passage is,

Now shall it be said of Jacob,
And of Israel, What hath God wrought!

and it is interesting to observe that this not very common type of parallelism occurs twice (see also xxiv. 9) in the oracles of Balaam.

The strongly marked pause in the middle, and the marked independence of the last part, of the second line are characteristic of all the distichs just cited. If from these observations we turn immediately to Hosea iv. 13 c, d, we shall probably conclude that the difficulties which have been felt with regard to these lines are unreal, that the emendations which have been proposed[1] wholly unnecessary, and that, in respect of parallelism and structure, the lines closely resemble Numbers xxiii. 23, xxiv. 9, and Deuteronomy xxxiii. 11; in this case the correct articulation is,

תחת אלון ולבנה
ואלה כי־טוב צלה

Under oak and poplar,
And terebinth: for good is the shade thereof.

[1] See *e.g.* W. R. Harper, *Commentary on Amos and Hosea* ("International Critical Commentary"), pp. 260, 261.

My second illustration of the advantages of some method that enables similarities and dissimilarities of parallelism to be easily detected and presented is of a different character, and shows the bearing of these studies on textual criticism.

Psalm cxiv. consists of eight couplets, each of which, in the present text at all events, shows one form or another of incomplete parallelism, for the most part with compensation. The characteristic incompleteness of the parallelism rings through even a translation:

1 When Israel went forth out of Egypt,
  The house of Jacob from a barbaric people,
2 Judah became his sanctuary,
  Israel his dominion.

3 The sea saw it and fled,
  Jordan turned backward,
4 The mountains skipped like rams,
  The hills like young sheep.

5 What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleest,
  Thou Jordan, that thou turnest back?
6 Ye mountains that ye skip like rams,
  Ye hills like young sheep?

7 At the presence of the Lord tremble, O earth,
  At the presence of the God of Jacob,
8 Which turned the rock into a pool of water,
  The flint into a fountain of water.

The scheme in the Hebrew is as follows:

1 a . b . c 2 a . b . c
  b′2 . c′2 b′ . c′

3	a . b	. c	6	a . b	. c
	a′	c′2		a′	c′2
4	a . b	. c	7	a . b	. c . d
	a′	c′2		a . b′2	
5	a . b	. c	8	a . b	. c2
	b′	. c′2		b′	. c′2

There seems to me strong ground for holding that this consistent use of incomplete parallelism was intentional, or, at any rate, if not intentional, it is at least an unconscious expression of the writer's general preference—in a word, it is a stylistic characteristic; as such it ought not without good reason to be obliterated. For this reason Dr. Briggs's reconstruction of this Psalm in the "International Critical Commentary" is open to grave objection. The emendations proposed by Dr. Briggs and the effect of them on the parallelism is as follows: (1) he strikes out as glosses verses 2 and 8, though both verses show the characteristic incomplete parallelism; (2) in verse 7 he deletes חולי, *tremble*; then אדון becomes construct before ארץ, and the expression "Lord of the earth" becomes parallel to "God of Jacob," and the verse as a whole an example of complete parallelism,

a . b . c
a . b′ . c′

(3) in verses 4 b and 6 b he inserts חָלוּ (of which חולי in verse 7 is supposed to be a misplaced cor-

ruption), thus again turning incomplete into regular complete parallelism,

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′

Thus merely by a study of the parallelism this reconstruction is rendered improbable quite apart from the question whether metre requires any such changes, or whether Dr. Briggs's is not a much more prosaic poem than that of the Hebrew text.

In the LXX Psalm cxiv. is united with Psalm cxv. This union has been very generally regarded as not representing the original text: in addition to the reasons commonly given for holding that the division between the two Psalms in the Hebrew text is correct, we may now add the difference in the type of parallelism. In cxv. 5-7 we find three successive examples of complete parallelism, and although elsewhere in the Psalm there are examples of incomplete parallelism, these are mostly incomplete parallelisms of a different kind from those which occur in Psalm cxiv.

CHAPTER III

PARALLELISM AND RHYTHM IN THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS

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The Book of Lamentations has played a conspicuous part in the constantly renewed discussions of the subject of Hebrew rhythm. Apart from any analysis of its cause, and without any exceptional degree of attention, the reader of the Hebrew text, or even indeed of the English version, of the Lamentations, perceives something in the rhythm or cast of the sentences that is common to practically the whole of the first four chapters of the book. This same something that brings these four poems into a common class, sharply marks them off from the fifth chapter or poem, and at the same time, too, from the greater quantity of the poetry of the Old Testament, though careful examination has discovered not a little in various books of the Old Testament that resembles the first four chapters of Lamentations in the peculiarity in question.

But though this striking peculiarity is common

to the four poems constituting the first four chapters of Lamentations, there are other features that distinguish them one from another—the differing alphabetic sequences that are followed by the initial letters of successive divisions of the poems (פ preceding ע in ii., iii., and iv., following it in i.), the differing lengths of the divisions, the differing degrees of passion, spontaneity and vividness with which the subject, common to them all, is handled. These differences have attracted and received attention; but, so far as I am aware, the differences in the use of parallelism as between the four poems have not yet been analysed: and, yet, such differences exist. Owing to uncertainties of text and interpretation, it does not seem to me easy or even practicable to give exact statistics of these differences; yet, by the help of a more accurate measurement of parallelism, such as I have suggested in the previous chapter, it will, I hope, be possible to make manifest the existence and general character of the differences; and, in any case, by an examination of these chapters, I hope to carry further my line of approach to rhythmical questions through parallelism.

Though I cannot undertake any comprehensive survey of the history of the study of rhythm in Lamentations, it will be worth while to refer to two discussions of the subject—that of Lowth, who was the first to point out and to

attempt to analyse the rhythmical peculiarity of Lamentations i.-iv., and that of Budde, who, by a series of contributions to this subject, beginning with his fundamental article in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* for 1882, has profoundly influenced subsequent investigation and terminology.

Lowth devoted his 22nd and 23rd lectures to the Hebrew elegy, and he returned to some of the points then discussed in the preliminary dissertation to his *Isaiah* (vol. i. pp. xxxiv-xliii, ed. 3). The genius and origin of the Hebrew elegy, of the *ḳinah* or *nehi* as the Hebrews called it themselves, he traces to their manner of celebrating the funeral rites; and in particular to the employment of professional mourners who sang dirges. The natural language of grief, he remarks, "consists of a plaintive, intermitted, concise form of expression": and as in other arts, so in that of the Hebrew elegy, "perfection consisted in the exact imitation of nature. The funereal dirges were, therefore, composed in general upon the model of those complaints which flow naturally and spontaneously from the afflicted heart: the sentences were abrupt, mournful, pathetic, simple and unembellished. . . . They consisted of verse and were chanted to music."[1]

Lowth then points out the peculiarity of the

[1] *Lectures* . . . (ed. Lond. 1787), ii. 123, 127.

first four poems in Lamentations, and remarks: "We are not to suppose this peculiar form of versification utterly without design or importance: on the contrary, I am persuaded, that the prophet adopted this kind of theme as being more diffuse, more copious, more tender, in all respects better adapted to melancholy subjects. I must add, that in all probability the funeral dirges, which were sung by mourners, were commonly composed in this kind of verse: for whenever, in the prophets, any funereal lamentations occur or any passages formed upon that plan, the versification is, if I am not mistaken, of this protracted kind. . . . However, the same kind of metre is sometimes, though rarely, employed upon other occasions. . . . There are, moreover, some poems manifestly of the elegiac kind, which are composed in the usual metre, and not in unconnected stanzas, according to the form of a funeral dirge." [1]

The peculiarities of this elegiac versification are best summarised in the *Isaiah*, as follows: "The closing pause of each line is generally very full and strong: and in each line commonly, towards the end, at least beyond the middle of it, there is a small rest, or interval, depending on the sense and grammatical construction, which I would call a half-pause. . . . The conjunction ו . . . seems to be frequently and studiously omitted at the half-pause: the remaining clause

[1] *Lectures*, ii. pp. 136, 137.

being added, to use a grammatical term, by apposition to some word preceding; or coming in as an adjunct, or circumstance depending on the former part, and completing the sentence." [1]

The parallelism accompanying the versification of this kind is, according to Lowth, for the most part of the constructive order,[2] which is, as we have previously seen, Lowth's way of saying that strict parallelism is at best incomplete, and is more often entirely absent.

There is in the passages just cited or summarised a surprising amount of correct and acute observation or fruitful suggestion. Some subsequent scholars neglected this important part of Lowth's inquiries, and, in consequence, Ewald, for example, never clearly saw, as Lowth had seen, the sharp distinction between Lamentations i.-iv. and v.

For our present purpose it will suffice to refer much more briefly to Budde's important discussions. In the main his advance on Lowth consisted in the detailed working out of two important points: (1) the nature of the unequal division of the rhythmical periods; and (2) the extent to which the rhythm characteristic of Lamentations i.-iv. occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament. As to the division of the rhythmical periods, Budde's position may be stated thus:—(1) the *ḳinah* rhythm rests on the division of the rhythmical

[1] *Isaiah*, ed. 3, p. xxxix. [2] *Ibid.* p. xxxv.

period into two unequal parts of which the longer part precedes the shorter part; (2) the normal length of the longer part is three words, of the shorter two words; (3) but by legitimate variations a longer part consisting of four words may be followed by a shorter consisting of (*a*) three, or (*b*) two, words; (4) the period is never equally divided;[1] if, as sometimes happens, each part consists of two words, the two words of the first part are heavier and weightier than the two words of the second part; (5) between the two parts of the verse, there is no strict and constant rhythmical relation beyond the fundamental fact of inequality of length.

To some of these metrical questions I shall return: meantime I proceed to examine the parallelism of the poems, and I will begin with the isolated fifth chapter which happens to be an excellent storehouse of examples of the types of parallelism occurring in poetry that is free from the well-marked peculiarities of Lamentations i.-iv. By comparison with the more ordinary parallelism of Lamentations v., any peculiarities in the parallelism of Lamentations i.-iv. may be the better discerned.

The majority of the twenty-two verses of Lamentations v. may be treated as containing six terms *equally* divided among the two stichoi that compose each verse, *i.e.* each stichos normally

[1] *Zeitschr. für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1882, pp. 4 f.

contains three terms. Seventeen of these distichs show strict parallelism between at least one term in each stichos; of the remaining five distichs, one (*v.* 5) is too uncertain to classify, and two (*vv.* 8, 16) are best regarded as lacking strict parallelism. In the two verses or distichs that still remain (*vv.* 9 and 10) the stichoi are certainly not parallel to one another: but these two verses in their entirety seem to be (incompletely) parallel to one another: for disregarding the first half of *v.* 10, which may be corrupt, we may represent the parallelism between the two verses thus:

a . b . c . d . e . f
. . . d′ . e′ . f′

If this parallelism of the last parts of these verses was intentional, it is likely enough that such naturally parallel terms as נפשנו, *our soul* (R.V. *lives*), עורנו, *our skin*, which occur in the first parts of the verses, were originally more really parallel than they now are.

Of the twenty-two distichs, then, contained in Lamentations v., seventeen at least show parallelism between the stichoi. In five, or, on one interpretation of *v.* 12, in six, of these the parallelism is complete:[1] in the remaining twelve (or eleven) incomplete. The several examples may be classified thus:—

[1] For the meaning of the terms complete and incomplete parallelism see above, pp. 59, 74.

I. Examples of Complete Parallelism

Form.	Number of Occurrences.	Verses.
a . b . c a′. b′. c′	3	4, 13, (17)
a . b . c b′. a′. c′	(1)	12 (on one interpretation)
a . b2 a′2 . b′	1	15
a . b b′. c′	1	22

II. Examples of Incomplete Parallelism

(1) With compensation.

a . b . c a′2 . b′	4	1, 11, 12 (on one interpretation), 20

or similar types

a . b . c a′. d . e	2	6, 7

(2) Without compensation.

a . b . c a′. b′	4	2, 3, 14, 18

or similar types

a . b . c . d a′ . c′2	1	19
a . b . c . d a′2 e	1	21

The occurrence in this poem of incomplete parallelisms without compensation raises questions that must be considered later.

In turning now to consider Lamentations i.-iv. we are faced with a difficulty of terminology. Lamentations iii., as is well known, consists of sixty-six Massoretic verses distinguished from one another by the occurrence, at the beginning of each, of the letter of the alphabet appropriate to the alphabetic scheme, so that each of the first three verses begins with א, each of the next three with ב, and so forth. Chapters i. and ii., though they number each but twenty-two Massoretic verses, contained [1] each of them sixty-six sections of the same length as the Massoretic verse in iii., and these sections are still easily distinguishable, though the letters of the alphabetic scheme occur at the beginning of every fourth section only. Chapter iv. consists of forty-four similar sections. What is the proper term to apply to these sections : are they lines or couplets, stichoi or distichs ? Are they, as compared with the stichoi of chapter v., "protracted lines," as Lowth described them, or, as compared with the distichs of chapter v., truncated couplets or distichs, as Budde considers them ? These ques-

[1] In the present text, owing to what is generally recognised as textual expansion (in i. 7, ii. 19), the number of sections is sixty-seven both in chaps. i. and ii. The R.V. for the most part distinguishes the sections correctly, but occasionally so divides the verses (*e.g.* i. 1, ii. 2, and even iv. 22) as to give them the appearance of consisting of four sections.

tions can best be considered later : I will, for the time being, use the neutral term section, meaning by that a Massoretic verse in chapter iii. and the equivalent sections of the remaining chapters, *i.e.* the third of a Massoretic verse in i. and ii., and the half of such a verse in iv. Similarly, for the two parts of these sections, the longer first and the shorter second part, I will use the term subsection.

As the normal number of terms in a verse of chapter v. is six, so the normal number of terms in each section of chapters i. and iv. is five. It follows from this at once that in chapters i.-iv. the common form of complete parallelism

$$\begin{matrix} a \,.\, b \,.\, c \\ a' \,.\, b' \,.\, c' \end{matrix}$$

will not readily [1] occur in a normal section, and, as a matter of fact, it does not, I think, occur at all in any section, whether normal or abnormal. This, however, is not equivalent to saying that complete parallelism between the subsections is either impossible or actually non-existent in these poems ; on the other hand complete parallelism actually occurs, though relatively with much less frequency than in chapter v. An example is ii. 11 :—

[1] The force of this qualifying adverb will become clear later. As a matter of fact, though $\begin{matrix} a \,.\, b \,.\, c \\ a' \,.\, b' \,.\, c' \end{matrix}$ does not occur, a corresponding type of incomplete parallelism with compensation does occur : see iv. 11.

כלו בדמעות עיני | חמרמרו מעי

Consumed with tears are mine eyes, | in a ferment are my bowels.

The scheme is a2 . b | a′ . b′; and it is preferable to regard iii. 4,

He hath worn out my flesh and my skin, | he hath broken my bones,

as an example of a . b2 | a′ . b′ rather than of the scheme a . b . c | a′ . b′.

Other examples of complete parallelism in chapters i.-iv. occurring in sections that are not perhaps strictly normal are

על-ההרים דלקנו | במדבר ארבו לנו

Upon the mountains they chased us, | in the wilderness they lay in wait for us.

השביעני במרורים | הרוני לענה

He hath filled me with bitterness, | he hath sated me with wormwood.

These will be found in iv. 19 and iii. 15; they are both examples of a . b | a′ . b′, or, if we prefer to regard the pronominal suffixes as independent terms, of a . b . c | a′ . b′ . c; another example occurs in iv. 13, and there are perhaps a few others: but in the 242 sections of chapters i.-iv. there are but few, if any, more examples of complete parallelism than in the twenty-two distichs of chapter v.; or, in other words, complete parallelism is, relatively, about eleven times as frequent in chapter v. as in chapters i.-iv.

If, however, the section of chapters i.-iv. be a "protracted line," we might expect to find complete parallelism occurring as between the sections rather than as between the subsections. As a matter of fact, incomplete parallelism between the sections is not uncommon in chapters i.-iv.; it is less common, indeed, than parallelism between the stichoi in chapter v.; it is, on the other hand, much commoner than parallelism between whole verses, of which we noted but one example, in chapter v. And yet *complete* parallelism between sections is exceedingly rare, and in fact, I think, does not once occur. Probably the nearest approach to complete parallelism between sections is where four of the five terms correspond, as in ii. 2 a, b, where the scheme is

a . b . c . d . e
a′ . c′ . d′ . e′2

בלע אדני ולא־חמל את־כל־נאות יעקב
הרס בעברתו מבצרי בת־יהודה

The-Lord hath-swallowed-up unpityingly all the-homesteads of-Jacob,
He-hath-thrown-down in-his-wrath the-strongholds of-the-daughter of-Judah.

A much greater relative amount of those forms of what Lowth called synthetic or constructive parallelism, in which there is a complete absence of strict parallelism, is another feature of Lamentations i.-iv. which sharply distinguishes these poems (with one exception) from Lamentations v.

Other differences exist as between one or more of these poems and chapter v.; and these will appear when we turn, as we must now, to a closer examination of the parallelism in chapters i.-iv., and of the differences in this respect to be discerned as between these chapters considered severally.

Budde quotes with approval a remark of De Wette's that in Lamentations "merely rhythmical parallelism," another term for Lowth's constructive or synthetic parallelism, is most prominent, and that parallelism of thought, when it occurs, occurs mostly as between the subsections, *i.e.* between the clauses or sentences which consist alternately of (as a rule) three and two terms, not between the sections, which consist, as a rule, of five terms; put otherwise, this amounts to the assertion that parallelism in these poems is chiefly of the general type

a . b . c
a′ . b′

not of the type

a . b . c . d . e
a′ . b′ . c′ . d′ . e′

Budde's only criticism of this is that De Wette considerably underrates the extent of this parallelism between the subsections, which we may briefly term subsectional parallelism. But neither De Wette nor Budde carried the analysis

of this feature sufficiently far; had they done so they would have seen that a general statement such as they make cannot be rightly made with reference to all the poems indiscriminately. I hope to show that the statement that "merely rhythmical parallelism" is most prominent is substantially true of chapters i. and iii. and very misleading in reference to chapter ii., and in a less degree in reference to chapter iv.; and also that the statement that parallelism, when it occurs, occurs mostly between the subsections is the very opposite of the truth with regard to chapter ii., though substantially correct with regard to chapter iv.

I will examine chapter iii. first. In a certain sense the whole of the first eighteen verses or sections might be said to consist of eighteen parallel statements of the fact that Yahweh is chastening the speaker; the first person singular pronoun appears in each separate verse, and gives a certain degree of parallelism to them all; and similarly throughout the poem large groups of sections express, mainly by a succession of figurative statements, the same thought: but beyond this general repetition of thought there is seldom any real parallelism of individual terms or even of groups of terms. Moreover, there is a feature of this poem that suggests that some even of the apparent examples of parallel sections are due more to accident than design; I refer to the fact

that the clearest apparent examples of sectional parallelism occur between the last section beginning with one letter of the alphabet and the first section beginning with the next letter;[1] thus, there are throughout the poem no sections more parallel to one another than, and few as much so as, the following (*vv.* 12, 13; 48, 49; 60, 61).

He hath bent his bow and set me as a target for his arrow;
He hath caused to enter into my kidneys the shafts of his quiver.

In streams of water my eye runs down for the destruction of my people;
My eye hath poured down unceasingly, because there are no respites.

Thou hast seen all the vengeance they took, all their devices against me;
Thou hast heard all their reproaches (of me), O Yahweh, all their devices against me.

The first of these couplets consists of the last line beginning with ד and the first with ה, the second of the last line with פ and the first with ע, the third of the last with ר and the first with ש.

There are not more than about a dozen[2] couplets of contiguous sections that are as

[1] The significance of this does not seem to me to be affected by the fact that in Ps. cxi., cxii. the alphabetic scheme distinguishes each stichos, not each distich, by successive letters of the alphabet, and therefore *regularly* and necessarily gives to parallel stichoi different initial letters.

[2] The sections that may most reasonably be regarded as more parallel (though whether always by the intention of the writer is doubtful) to one another than is almost any section of the poem to any other are: *12, 13*; 19 (pointing זֵכֶר), 20; 28, 29, 30 (?); 34, 35, 36 (?); 40, 41; *48, 49*; *60, 61*; 64, 65. The italicised numbers are cited above.

parallel to one another as the foregoing, or indeed that are strictly parallel to one another at all.

In about one-third of the entire number of sections parallelism more or less clear and conspicuous between subsections [1] occurs; examples are *vv.* 10 (a . b . c2 | a′ . b′) and 14 (a . b . c | b′ . d) :—

דב ארב הוא לי | אריה במסתרים

As a bear lying in wait is he unto me, | a lion in secret places.

הייתי שחק לכל-עמים | נגינתם כל-היום

I am become a derision to all peoples, | their song all the day.

Clearly, then, since subsectional parallelism occurs in considerably less than half, and probably in not more than a third, of the sixty-six sections of the poem, and sectional parallelism, which might have occurred thirty-three times, actually occurs scarcely a dozen times at most, "merely rhythmical parallelism" is more conspicuous here than real parallelism of thought and terms; whether subsectional is much or any more relatively frequent than sectional parallelism depends on the view taken as to the reality of parallelism in the couplets specified on p. 101 and as to the character of the more doubtful examples of subsectional parallelism given below.[1]

[1] The clearest examples of subsectional parallelism occur in the following fifteen verses: 4, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 33, 47, 58, 60, 61. The text of some even of these (*e.g.* 22, 23, 33) is open to question: but probably parallelism existed in the original text. More doubtful examples may be found in *vv.* 5, 7, 11, 16, 19, 30, 39, 43, 53, 56, 65.

Chapter ii. differs greatly from chapter iii. The repetition in chapter iii. of the initial letter before each of the three sections belonging to it corresponds to a real independence, as a general rule,[1] of the sections in that poem. On the other hand, the three sections which belong to each letter of the alphabet in chapter ii., but of which the first section only is distinguished by beginning with that letter, are closely connected with one another; and this connexion is formally marked by the frequency with which *the entire sections* within the several alphabetic divisions *are parallel to one another*. The exact number of these sectional parallelisms depends on interpretation, and in some cases on textual questions: but I believe it may be safely asserted that in a large majority at all events of the twenty-two alphabetic divisions two at least of the three sections are parallel to one another, and in several all three sections are so. I should myself put the number of parallelisms between two, if not all three, sections as high as eighteen, if not higher.[2]

Over against this frequency of sectional parallelism we have to set the relative infrequency of subsectional parallelism: this latter kind of parallelism, which might have occurred sixty-six

[1] *Vv.* 34-36 form an exception.

[2] Absence of parallelism or a near approach to it will be found in *vv.* 4, 17, 18, 22, but even this may be partly due to textual corruption. In most of the remaining verses parallelism is obvious, in all it was probably intended.

times, actually occurs only a dozen[1] times, more or less, according to the view taken of two or three doubtful cases.

Thus it is not true of chapter ii. that "merely rhythmical parallelism" is more frequent than real parallelism of thought and term, nor is it true that parallelism occurs mainly between the subsections; quite the reverse: we must, to be accurate, put the case thus: In chapter ii. real (though incomplete) parallelism is very frequent; the *fundamental* parallelism is between the sections; but this is *occasionally* reinforced by an additional and *secondary* parallelism between the subsections, much in the same way that the fundamental rhymes at the close of the (alternate) lines of a quatrain are in some English poems occasionally reinforced by an additional rhyme in the middle of one or more lines, as often in Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, *e.g.*—

> The sun came up upon the left,
> Out of the sea came he!
> And he shone bright, and on the right
> Went down into the sea.

The fact is, parallelism in Lamentations ii. is singularly intricate and skilfully varied. It is rarely complete either as between sections or subsections, but it is generally clear enough and sufficient to constitute a real formal connexion

[1] See *vv.* 4 a (?), 5 b, 6 a (?), 7 a, 9 a (read שָׁבְרוּ for אבר ושבר), 10 b, 11 a, (*not* 13 a: A.V.), 15 c (present text), 17 a, c, 18 c, 20 b, 21 c.

between the three sections of the several alphabetic divisions, or at least between two of them, the remaining section being sometimes not parallel, as is frequently one stichos of a tristich in other poems. Since the nature of the parallelism in chapter ii. and, consequently, an important formal difference between chapters ii. and iv. have hitherto not been clearly observed, I give a few verses of this poem with a translation and notes on the parallelism :—

1 איכה [1] היעיב באפו אדני | את בת ציון
השליך משמים ארץ | תפארת ישראל
ולא זכר הדום רגליו | ביום אפו

1 How hath the Lord beclouded[1] in his anger | the daughter of Sion !
He hath cast down from heaven to earth | the ornament of Israel ;
And he hath not remembered his footstool | in the day of his anger.

Here all three sections are parallel : observe *the daughter of Sion* (d 2) || *the ornament of Israel* (d′ 2) || *his footstool* (d″ 2), and *beclouded* (a) || *cast down from heaven to earth* (a′ 3) || *hath not remembered* (a″). Moreover, the unity of the entire alphabetic division is emphasised by the additional parallelism *in his anger* (b) || *in the day of his anger* (b′ 2) in the first and last sections ; a similar effect is obtained in *v.* 12 which opens with לאמתם, *to their mothers*, and closes with אמתם, *their mothers*. Variety is obtained not only by varying

[1] *Hath . . . beclouded* : read היעיב for יעיב, *beclouds*.

the number of terms by means of which corresponding ideas are expressed, but also very effectively by bringing the object of the verb much nearer to the beginning in the third section than in the two that precede: a somewhat similar effect is obtained in *v.* 8 (cp. also i. 1).

There is no subsectional parallelism in any of these three sections.

2 בלע אדני ולא חמל | את כל נאות יעקב
הרס בעברתו | מבצרי בת יהודה
הגיע לארץ חלל | ממלכה ושריה

2 The Lord hath destroyed unsparingly | all the homesteads of Jacob;
He hath pulled down in his wrath | the strongholds of Judah;
He hath brought to the ground, hath profaned | the realm and its princes.

Here, again, all three sections are parallel, but in none is there parallelism between the subsections. This time all the object-clauses stand at the end of their respective sections and, as in *v.* 1, the parallel verbs or verbal clauses הגיע לארץ חלל (*he hath brought to the ground, hath profaned*), הרס (*he hath pulled down*), בלע (*hath destroyed*) at the beginning. The additional parallelism of terms is not as in *v.* 1 between the first and third, but between the first and second sections (*unsparingly* || *in his wrath*), unless, indeed, with Löhr, we emend by transposing the clauses *He hath brought to the ground* and *in his wrath*; then,

as before, the fuller parallelism will be between the first and third sections.

10 ישבו לארץ ידמו | זקני בת ציון
העלו עפר על ראשם | חגרו שקים
הורידו לארץ ראשן | בתולת ירושלם

10 They sat on the ground dumb— | the elders of Sion ;
Lifted up dust on their head, | were girded with sackcloth ;
They lowered to the ground their head— | the virgins of Jerusalem.

Here in the second section we find subsectional parallelism ; each clause in it mentions one sign of mourning and grief ; parallel to each of these clauses and to one another are the first clauses of the first and third sections, but these sections contain no subsectional parallelism : on the other hand, the second parts of the first and third sections are very strictly parallel to one another (*the elders of Sion* || *the virgins of Jerusalem*). But there is still further and in part rather subtle verbal parallelism between the *sections* : note לארץ (*on* (*to*) *the ground*) in the first and third sections ; ראשם and ראשן (*their head*) in the second and third respectively ; and the antithesis העלו (*lifted up*) and הורידו (*lowered*) which is emphasised by the parallelism in a way which it is impossible to represent adequately in translation : what they lift up is dust, what they cast down is their heads ! Very clearly, then, *sectional* parallelism is again primary ; but here it is reinforced by subsectional parallelism in *one* of the three sections.

A correct appreciation of the main and secondary parallelism in this poem may set some questions of textual interpretation in a new light. Verse 3 reads,

גדע בחרי אף | כל קרן ישראל
השיב אחור ימינו | מפני אויב
ויבער ביעקב כאש להבה | אכלה סביב

He hewed off in fierce anger | all the horn of Israel;
He turned backward his right hand | from the face of the foe;
And he kindled in Jacob a flaming fire | which devoured round about.

Whose is the right hand here referred to, Israel's or Yahweh's? It is commonly taken to be Yahweh's, and there is certainly much to be said for this view. But the parallelism of the sections, which certainly exists in any case, would become still clearer and more complete if the right hand be Israel's. Then, for the use of the pronoun only in the middle section corresponding to the two parallel proper names for the nation in the first and third sections, there are two exact parallels in this poem: see *vv.* 5 and 10.

In both 4 a and 15 c it is generally admitted that a word or more has intruded. But which word or words should we omit? If subsectional parallelism was primary, and as frequent as it is in Lamentations iv. and Isaiah xiv., parallelism would furnish a strong argument for those who retain צר, *as a foe* (parallel to *as an enemy*), in *v.* 4, and both the clauses *perfection of beauty*

and *joy of the whole earth* in *v.* 15. But, since subsectional parallelism is merely secondary and not very frequent in this poem, such an argument has little if any weight: and it may certainly be doubted whether it is nearly strong enough to justify those who omit שיאמרו, with the characteristic ש in *v.* 15, in order to retain both the parallel clauses at the end of the verse without at the same time keeping a section so long as the existing text presents.

Verse 8 is also interesting. Had subsectional parallelism been primary, the author would naturally have written—

Rampart and wall lament; | together they languish;

but to gain a closer parallelism with the two preceding *sections*, each of which begins with a verb of which Yahweh is the subject, he avoided what would have been a more perfect subsectional parallelism and wrote instead—

He caused to lament rampart and wall; | together they languish.

By many who refrain from postulating unity of authorship for the Book of Lamentations, chapters ii. and iv. at least are attributed to the same writer. Be this as it may, there is an appreciable difference, though it has hitherto been overlooked, in the use of parallelism in the two poems, just as there is a difference in the length of the alphabetic divisions. In chapter ii.

sectional parallelism is fundamental and frequent, subsectional parallelism secondary and relatively rare: in chapter iv. subsectional parallelism is relatively more frequent, perhaps even considerably more frequent than sectional parallelism, though neither type is quite so unmistakably primary or quite so persistent as the sectional parallelism in chapter ii. Subsectional parallelism occurs in nearly, if not quite, or even more than, a half[1] of the sections in chapter iv. as compared with a bare fifth in chapter ii.; on the other hand, less than half, perhaps scarcely a third, of the sections are parallel to one another,[2]

[1] The sections in Lamentations iv. number 44, of which two (*v.* 15) are through corruption very uncertain. Subsectional parallelism is clearest in these 17 sections: 1 a (see below), 2 a, b, 3 a, b, 7 a, b, 8 a, b, 11 a, b, 12 a, 13 a, 16 b, 18 b, 19 b, 21 a. To these should be added the two similarly constructed sections, 6 a, 9 a, perhaps also 5 a, b (antithetical parallels), 6 b, 14 a, 15 a, 21 b, 22 a, b. Subsectional parallelism is at all events sufficiently frequent to raise the question whether the text of *v.* 1 is correct; subsectional parallelism would indeed be perfect even in the present text if we ventured to divide the section equally (cp. R.V.): but rhythm, as we shall see later, forbids this, and if the text is sound Dr. Smith (*Jerusalem*, ii. 279) rightly arranges as follows:

How bedimmed is the gold, how changed
The best of the gold.

I suspect, however, that either (1) ישנא is a gloss (Aramaic?) on יועם, or (2) that הטוב should be omitted, leaving כתם parallel to והב as in Job xxxi. 24. Then we have either

How bedimmed is the gold,
Even the best fine gold,

or

How bedimmed is the gold,
Changed the fine gold.

[2] The most conspicuous sectional parallelisms will be found in *vv.* 4, 5, 8, 17, 22: see also *vv.* 1, 7, 19, but in these latter verses, as also in the antithetical sections of *v.* 3, the sectional parallelism is much less conspicuous than the synonymous subsectional parallelism in one or, in most of the verses, in both sections.

and there is little or nothing of that subtle linking of the sections which occurs in chapter ii.

In Lamentations i., in spite of the sustained and well varied parallelism of the first three sections, strict parallelism is decidedly less frequent than in either chapter ii. or chapter iv., or even than in chapter iii. Subsectional parallelism is perhaps rather more frequent [1] than in chapter ii., where it is infrequent and secondary: but sectional parallelism is very decidedly *less* frequent [2] than in chapter ii.: the result is that it is difficult to select either type of parallelism as primary; and the more important fact is that the form of the greater part of this poem is independent of strict parallelism.

It is not surprising that the Book of Lamentations has driven even unwilling scholars to the consideration or reconsideration of the question of metre or rhythm in Hebrew poetry. Budde, who, like many others, had in 1874, after an examination of existing theories in regard to Hebrew metre, rejected them all and expressed the most thoroughgoing scepticism with regard to any new theories that might arise, found himself eight years later, after a study of Lamentations, venturing, to quote his own phrase, "on

[1] See *vv.* 1 (three antithetical parallels), 2 a, c, 3 a, b, 4 b, c, 5 a, 7 c, d, 13 c, 16 a, b, 18 b, 20 a, c; possibly also *vv.* 8 a (omit עליכן ?), b (omit כי ?), c, 9 c, 13 a, 22 a.

[2] See *vv.* 1, 10 a, b, 11 a, b, 12 b, c, 15, 20 a, b: perhaps also 2 b, c, 4 a, b, 5 a, c, 8.

the dangerous slippery ice " ; and it has generally been admitted that he skated with considerable skill over the corner of the ice to which he confined himself.

The challenge lies here : there is a common and well-marked peculiarity in the 242 sections that make up the first four chapters of Lamentations ; it is a rhythmical peculiarity, and yet a rhythmical peculiarity that cannot be explained by the parallelism. In putting it thus, I recognise, as I think we well may, that parallelism might create rhythm, and may even, as a matter of fact, in the remote past have created the dominant Semitic and Hebrew type of rhythm in particular : a habit of expressing a thought in a given number of terms, and then repeating it by corresponding terms, would necessarily produce a certain rhythmical effect : thus, for example, the habit of expressing thought in the mould symbolised by

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′

would produce a *rhythm* which may be expressed by 3 : 3 ; and thought expressed in a mould symbolised by

a . b . c
a′ . b′

would produce a rhythm that may be expressed by 3 : 2.

But as soon as parallelism becomes incomplete,

and still more when it becomes merely synthetic, *i.e.*, strictly speaking, disappears, and yet the lines retain the same number of words or terms, obviously the rhythmical relation between the lines is no longer, even if it was originally, merely secondary: thus rhythm is no longer a mere result of parallelism, but an independent desire for rhythm is at least a contributory cause, if with

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′

such schemes as

a . b . c
a′2 . c′

or

a . b . c
a′ . d . e

or

a . b . c
d . e . f

constantly alternate, but schemes such as

a . b . c
a′2 . b′ . c′

or

a . b . c
a′ . b′ . c′ . d

rarely or never; or, again, if with schemes such as

a . b . c . d . e
a′ . b′ . c′ . d′ . e′

there alternate schemes such as

a . b . c . d . e
a′ . b′2 . d′ . e′

but not such as

a . b . c . d . e
a′ . b′2 . c′ . d′ . e′

or with schemes

a . b . c
a′ . b′

schemes such as

a . b . c
a′2

or

a . b . c
a′ . d

but not such as

a . b . c
a′2 . b′

Now, if my analysis is even approximately correct, what, stated in general terms, are the facts of the Book of Lamentations, and the questions, which, once the facts are analysed and classified, almost necessarily arise? Lamentations iii. contains sixty-six sections unmistakably marked off from one another by the alphabetic scheme: there is no *complete* parallelism between any two successive sections: there is incomplete parallelism between perhaps fifteen groups of two sections: there is none at all between the rest. Why are

these sections nevertheless of equal length, or at least even in the present text so closely approximated to equality of length ? Again, these sections fall into subsections : in some twenty sections the two subsections are parallel to one another, though often only incompletely parallel ; why alike in these twenty sections and in the remaining forty odd sections in which there is no parallelism between the subsections does the longer subsection precede the shorter : why is the ratio between the two subsections so constant ?

Again, why are the twenty-two alphabetic divisions of Lamentations ii. each divided into three equal divisions marked off from one another by a strongly marked division of sense, each section again into subsections by a less strong but still clearly marked pause ? Why do the sections so constantly consist of five terms, the subsections of three terms and two terms respectively, the shorter regularly following the longer ? Why all this, though, while many of the sections are parallel to one another, *complete* parallelism between sections scarcely, if ever, occurs, and though in only about a dozen out of the sixty-six sections does even incomplete parallelism occur between the subsections ?

The answer to all these questions and the similar questions which Lamentations i. (with a difference) and Lamentations iv. provoke has been increasingly found by admitting the play

of a rhythmical principle; and what is called the *ḳinah* rhythm has accordingly gained recognition amongst many who still remain sceptical of other Hebrew rhythms.

What, then, is really meant by the *ḳinah* rhythm? A certain ambiguity seems to lurk in the usage of the term. Does it mean five terms forming a complete sentence with a well-marked pause after the third? or a *succession* of such sentences? If the first sentence of Genesis—בראשית ברא אלהים | את־השמים ואת־הארץ—occurred in any of the first four chapters of Lamentations, every one would accept it as a rhythmically normal line. Is, then, the first sentence in Genesis an example of *ḳinah* rhythm occurring sporadically in prose, as hexameters occur sporadically in the Authorised Version? Scarcely, for it is probable that those who define *ḳinah* rhythm as verse unequally divided by a pause, and normally in the ratio 3 : 2, tacitly mean by *ḳinah* rhythm a *succession* of such verses. And certainly it was the frequent repetition of such verses in Lamentations i.-iv. that first drew attention to the peculiarity of their style or rhythm.

Five words with a pause after the third is, even in Hebrew prose, too frequently occurring and too easily arising a phenomenon to possess by itself anything distinctive. An hexameter is a noteworthy phenomenon wherever it occurs; five words with a pause after the third are not;

on the other hand, a dozen or twenty repetitions of five words with a pause after the third do constitute something as noteworthy as an hexameter.

Not the sporadic occurrence, but the regular recurrence of a particular type of word-combination is apart from, or in addition to, any parallelism that may accompany it, the peculiarity of Lamentations i.-iv. And yet, as soon as we frame the conclusion thus, it is necessary, if all the facts, especially of chapter i., are to be recognised, to add that the particular type of word-combination in question falls into two sub-types ; and as soon as we define the sub-types as consisting respectively of combinations of five words with a pause occurring after the third, and combinations of four words equally divided by a pause, we may at first appear to destroy the whole theory of a *ḳinah* rhythm which we were attempting to formulate. The actual fact is not quite so serious as this, for while the normal section of five accented words, unequally divided, may contract to four words equally divided, it probably does not expand to six words equally divided.

However, whether the facts seriously weaken the theory or not, the main question at present is this : is Budde correct in denying that the sections in Lamentations were ever (in the original text) equally divided ? And is his attempt to maintain the appearance of inequality by calling

two words "heavy" as against two others that are to be called "light," any better than the attempt to cover up the absence of parallelism between two lines by speaking of them as synthetic parallels ?

To this question we shall return. Meantime, I will only say that the theory of light and heavy groups of words seems to me to suffer shipwreck on the very first verse of the book : for it is very difficult to believe that if רבתי בגוים at the end of the second section is light, שרתי במדינות at the beginning of the third is heavy. The truth is rather that Lamentations i. 1 b, c are both lines of four words equally divided : and Sievers is probably not far wrong in finding a full half of the entire number of lines in Lamentations i. to be of the same nature.[1] In any case, Lamenta-

[1] The sections treated by Sievers as containing four accented words and as being equally divided by the caesura are 1 b, c, 2 b, 4 c, 5 b, c, 6 a, c, 7 a (to ומרודיה), c, 8 b, c, 9 b, 10 a, b, 11 a, 12 c, 13 a, b, c, 14 b, c, 15 a, b, 17 c, 18 b, c, 19 a, b, c, 22 b, c ; marked as less certain sections of the same kind are 2 c, 3 b, c, 4 b, 15 c. Sections of this kind are far less frequent in the remaining poems ; those treated as such by Sievers are : ii. 12 (a, b) c, 14 a, b, c, (19 d) ; iii. 6, 10, 13, 15, 23, 24, 50 (58, 59, 60) ; iv. 3 b, 5 a, b, 6 b, 13 a, b, 14 (a) b, (15 a, b), 18 a (b), 20 (a) b, 21 (a) b. References to uncertain examples are enclosed in brackets. It is interesting and instructive to compare with this classification the examples given by Budde (*Zeitschr. für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1882 : cp. his commentary on Lamentations in the *Kurzer Handkommentar*, 1898) of the verses in which the first part contains only two words—these being, on his theory, "long" or "heavy." Budde cites i. 1 b, c, 4 c, 9 b, 13 c, 14 b, 17 c, 18 c, 19 a, b ; ii. 12 b, c ; iii. 15 ; iv. 5 a, 13 b, 17 b. The large number of sections treated by Sievers as evenly divided, but not treated by Budde as containing two words only in their first parts, consists of lines in which Budde either allows a full word-value to prepositions or other particles (*e.g.* i. 8 c, 10 b, 11 a), or emends the text (*e.g.* in i. 5 b he inserts הוא after יהוה).

tions i. is of crucial importance in the study of the *ḳinah* rhythm: any one who has sufficient ingenuity to discover an unequal division in all its sections need have little fear of being able to do the same for the three succeeding chapters or any other passages where the occurrence of some unequally divided lines suggests to him the "*ḳinah*" rhythm. If, on the other hand, the occurrence in the present text of Lamentations i. of equally divided lines of four terms is too frequent to admit of doubt that *some* such lines occurred in the original text, then we may suspect that the same variations also occurred or may have occurred in other *ḳinah* poems.

And as a matter of fact the variation is probably to be found in one of the earliest *ḳinahs* that survive. In Amos v. 2 the prophet's *ḳinah* over the house of Israel is given: it consists of two distichs, or long lines as we may here by preference call them:

נפלה לא־תוסף קום | בתולת ישראל
נטשה על־אדמתה | אין מקימה

Fallen to rise no more | is the daughter of Israel,
Stretched out upon the ground | with none to raise her.

The parallelism resembles the dominant parallelism in Lamentations ii.: it is between the long lines, not between the parts of these, the scheme being

a . b2 | c2
a′2 | b′2

The first of these two long lines is quite unambiguously divided into two unequal parts : rhythmically it is 3 : 2 ; but the second can only be forced into the same scheme by giving to the preposition a full stress. If, however, we find other examples of periods in *ḳinahs* that cannot be anything but 2 : 2, we shall certainly do better so to regard the second period here and to give עַל־אַדְמָתָה but one word-accent.

CHAPTER IV

THE ELEMENTS OF HEBREW RHYTHM

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The study of parallelism must lead, if I have so far observed and interpreted correctly, to the conclusion that parallelism is but one law or form of Hebrew poetry, and that it leaves much to be explained by some other law or form. Complete and exact correspondence of all the terms in two parallel lines necessarily produces the effect of exact or approximate rhythmical balance. But such complete parallelism is relatively rare in Hebrew poetry; the parallelism is more often incomplete; and, moreover, along with lines completely parallel and lines incompletely parallel there frequently occur also lines unconnected by the presence in them of any parallel terms. And yet, alike in the incompletely parallel, and in the non-parallel couplets, there will often be found, consistently maintained, the same kind of rhythm as in those that are completely parallel. We are thus driven back behind parallelism in search of an independent rhythmi-

cal principle in Hebrew poetry which will account for the presence of balance, or other rhythmical relation, as between two lines in which the parallelism is not such as necessarily to involve this balance or other rhythmical relation.

Some such rhythmical principle, whether or not its nature can ever be exactly and fully explained, seems to govern much of the present text of the Old Testament, sometimes for long consecutive passages, as for example in Lamentations and many parts of Job and Isaiah xl.-lv., sometimes for a few lines only, and then to be rudely interrupted by what neither accommodates itself to any rhythmical principle that can be easily seized, nor produces any rhythmical impression that can be readily or gratefully received.

The difficulties in the way of discovering and giving any clear and full account of this principle are considerable. In the first place, as was pointed out in the first chapter, no clear tradition or account of the rhythmical or other laws of Hebrew poetry has descended to us from the age when that poetry was still being written. The remarks of Josephus are interesting, but in themselves anything but illuminating. Then we are faced with serious textual uncertainties in all the so-called poetical books and in the prophetical books, and in the ancient poems, such as the song of Deborah, and the blessing of Jacob, embodied in some of the narrative books. Feeling, as in my

opinion we ought to do, that much of the poetical contents of the Old Testament has suffered serious textual corruption, we might well view with suspicion any metrical theory that found all parts of the existing text equally metrical; for though a textual corruption may accidentally at times have the same metrical value as the original reading, this is the kind of accident that cannot happen regularly. On the other hand, a metrical theory which finds innumerable passages corrupt, though they show, metre apart, no sign of corruption, has this disadvantage: given the right to make an equal number of emendations purely in the interests of his theory, another theoriser might produce an equally attractive theory; and we should be left with the uncertainty of choice between two alternatives both of which could not be right, but both of which might be wrong. A sound metrical theory, then, must neither entirely fit, nor too indiscriminately refuse to fit, the present text of the Old Testament. A third serious difficulty lies in our imperfect knowledge of the vowels with which the texts were originally intended to be read. This last difficulty may, perhaps, always leave a considerable degree of detail ambiguous, even if the broader principles of rhythm become clear.

In spite of these difficulties, how far is it possible in the first instance to determine the exact *rhythmical* relations between, let us say,

the several examples or types of two sections, sentences, lines, call them what we will, that are associated with one another by some degree of parallelism of terms or at least by some similarity of structure, by being, if not parallel, yet parallelistic? Parallelism both associates and dissociates; it associates two lines by the correspondence of ideas which it implies; it dissociates them by the differentiation of the terms by means of which the corresponding ideas are expressed as well as by the fact that the one parallel line is fundamentally a repetition of the other. The effect of dissociation is a constant occurrence of breaks or pauses, or rather a constant recurrence of two different types of breaks or pauses: (1) the break between the two parallel and corresponding lines; and (2) the greater break at the end of the second line before the thought is resumed and carried forward in another combination of parallel lines. And even when strict parallelism disappears, the regular recurrence of these two types of pauses is maintained. Thus there are in Hebrew parallelistic poetry no long flowing verse-paragraphs as in Shakespearian or Miltonic blank verse, but a succession of short clearly defined periods as in much English rhymed verse and in most pre-Shakespearian blank verse. Rhyme in English and parallelism in Hebrew alike serve to define the rhythmical periods; but the relation between rhyme and sense is much less

close than between parallelism and sense, and consequently rhyme in English has nothing like the same power as parallelism in Hebrew to produce coincidence between the rhythmical periods and the sense-divisions; accordingly, though rhyme very naturally goes with "stopped-line" verse, as it is called, it is also compatible with non-stop lines; so that non-stop lines and verse-paragraphs that disregard the line divisions almost as freely as Shakespearian or Miltonic blank verse are by no means unknown in English rhymed poetry. On the other hand, parallelism is, broadly speaking, incompatible with anything but "stopped-line" poetry. Whether or not there may be in Hebrew a non-parallelistic poetry in which rhythmical and sense divisions do not coincide is not, for the moment, the question; it is rather this: parallelism, even incomplete parallelism in its various types, offers a very large number of couplets in which we can be perfectly certain of the limits of the constituent lines; how strict, how constant, of what precise nature is the rhythmical relation between these lines which are thus so clearly defined? If we can determine this question satisfactorily, we may obtain a measure to determine whether the same rhythmical periods occur elsewhere without coinciding with sense-divisions.

I have referred to two types of English verse; but the closest analogy in English to Hebrew

poetry is probably to be found neither in blank verse nor in rhymed verse, but in the old Anglo-Saxon poetry, and its revival (with a difference) in Chaucer's contemporary, the author of *Piers Ploughman*. That poetry has one feature which is no regular, nor even a particularly common, feature of Hebrew poetry, viz. alliteration; but that feature, though a most convenient indication of the rhythm, is absolutely unessential to it. Apart from the references to this alliteration, how admirably does Professor Saintsbury's description of this type of English poetry correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *rhythmical* impressions left by many pages of Hebrew psalms or prophecy. "The staple line of this verse consists of two halves or sections, each containing two 'long,' 'strong,' 'stressed,' 'accented' syllables, these same syllables being, to the extent of three out of four, alliterated. At the first casting of the eye on a page of Anglo-Saxon poetry no common *resemblances* except these seem to emerge. But we see on some pages an altogether extraordinary *difference* in the lengths of the lines, or, in other words, of the number of 'short,' 'weak,' 'unstressed,' 'unaccented' syllables which are allowed to group themselves round the pivots or posts of the rhythm. Yet attempts have been made, not without fair success, to divide the sections or half-lines into groups or types of rhythm, more or less capable of being represented by the ordinary

marks of metrical scansion. . . . A sort of monotone or hum . . . will indeed disengage itself for the attentive reader . . . but nothing more . . . the sharp and uncompromising section, the accents, the alliteration—these are all that the poet has to trust to in the way of rules *sine queis non*. But before long the said careful reader becomes aware that there is a 'lucky license,' which is as a rule, and much more also; and that this license . . . concerns the allowance of unaccented and unalliterated syllables. The range of it is so great that at a single page-opening, taken at random, you might find the lines varying from nine to fifteen syllables, and, seeking a little further, come to a variation between eight and twenty-one."[1] In *Piers Ploughman* the verse still consists of "a pair of sharply-separated halves which never on any consideration run syllabically into each other, and are much more often than not divided by an actual stop, if only a brief one, of sense";[2] but there is a greater approximation, though only an approximation, to regularity in the length of the lines: and the first hemistich (measured of course syllabically, not by its stressed syllables, which are always equal in number) is generally longer than the second.[3]

As between Anglo-Saxon poetry or *Piers*

[1] G. Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody*, i. 13 f.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 182.

[3] Cp. *ibid.* i. 184. Professor Saintsbury gives the well-known opening lines of the poem as an illustration. A briefer specimen from else-

Ploughman and Hebrew parallelistic poetry these resemblances are certain: (1) the isolated verse in Anglo-Saxon corresponds to the parallel distich in Hebrew; (2) the strong internal pause in Anglo-Saxon to the end of the first parallel period of the Hebrew distich; (3) there is a correspondingly great irregularity in the number of the syllables in successive lines of Anglo-Saxon, and in successive distichs of Hebrew. Yet whether the two poetical materials, the Anglo-Saxon and the Hebrew, agree in what is after all most fundamental in Anglo-Saxon, viz. the constant quantity of stressed syllables in a verse, and the constant ratio of the stressed syllables in the two parts of a verse to one another remains

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where (ed. Wright, i. 6442-6457) may serve for the comparison with Hebrew poetry made above.

> On Good Friday I fynde · a felon was y-saved,
> That hadde lyved al his life · with lesynges and with thefte;
> And for he beknede to the cros, · and to Christ shrof him,
> He was sonner y-saved · than seint Johan the Baptist;
> And or Adam or Ysaye, · or any of the prophetes,
> That hadde y-leyen with Lucifer · many longe yeres,
> A robbere was y-raunsoned · rather than thei alle,
> Withouten any penaunce of purgatorie, · to perpetuel blisse.

The most famous example in later English literature of rhythm resting on equality in the number of accented syllables accompanied by great inequality in the total number of the syllables is Coleridge's *Christabel*. The accented syllables in the lines are always four; the total number of syllables commonly varies, as Coleridge himself puts it, from seven to twelve, and in the third line of the poem drops down to four. For reference I cite the five opening lines—

> 'Tis the middle of night by the castle clock,
> And the owls have awakened the crowing cock;
> Tu-whit!—Tu-whoo!
> And hark, again! the crowing cock,
> How drowsily it crew.

for consideration ; the answer is not immediately obvious, for Hebrew does not so unambiguously and conveniently indicate what are the stressed syllables in a line as does Anglo-Saxon by its alliterative system. In many Hebrew lines we cannot immediately see for certain either which, or how many, are the stressed syllables : what means exist for ultimately determining these uncertainties in part or entirely I will consider later. But first I return to a point already reached in the last chapter.

Even parallelism suggests a division of Hebrew distichs into two broad types of rhythm : in one of these two types the two parallel lines balance one another, whereas in the other the second comes short of and echoes the first. No great attention is required in reading Lamentations v., or Job xxviii., or many other passages in Job or the Deutero-Isaiah, or many Psalms, such as, *e.g.*, li., in order to become aware of the dominance and, in some cases, of the almost uninterrupted recurrence of balance between the successive couplets of mostly parallel lines ; nor, again, in reading Lamentations ii., iii., iv. to become aware of the different rhythm produced when a shorter line constantly succeeds to a longer one. So far we can get without any theory as to the correct method, if there be one, whereby these rhythms should be more accurately measured or described, or as to the best nomenclature

wherewith to distinguish these differences when we wish to refer to them. But if we get thus far, it further becomes clear that, if we admit the prevalence in Lamentations iv. of a clearly defined rhythm fit to receive a name of its own, whether or not the name *ḳinah* by which this rhythm commonly goes be the best term to define it, then Lamentations v. and Job xxviii. also have, though a different, yet a no less clearly defined rhythm whether we give it a name or not; and of course, if we wish to discuss the subject, we must find some convenient way of referring to this rhythm no less than to the other.

To distinguish these two broad classes of clearly distinguished types of rhythm I have suggested the terms *balancing rhythm* and *echoing rhythm*.[1] This terminology seems to me free from some of the objections which attach to the term *ḳinah* as a term for the echoing rhythm, even if we could discover a good companion term to *ḳinah* to describe the other type. As I pointed out in the last chapter, *ḳinah* rhythm is really a rather ambiguous term, meaning either the total rhythmical effect of a poem in which a particular echoing rhythm is prevalent, or that particular echoing rhythm even though it be confined to a single line or period. And one serious disadvantage of the term *ḳinah* rhythm lies in the ease with which it obscures the fact

[1] *Isaiah* ("International Critical Commentary"), i. p. lxiii.

that within the same elegy (*ḳinah*) or other rhythmically similar poem more than one type of rhythm as a matter of fact occurs.

But whether even *echoing rhythm* and *balancing rhythm* be a satisfactory terminology for the two broad classes of Hebrew rhythm under which sub-classes may be found, this broad fundamental distinction itself is nevertheless worth keeping clear ; it forms a comfortable piece of solid ground from which to set out and to which to return from excursions into the shaking bog or into the treacherous quagmire that certainly needs to be traversed before the innermost secrets of Hebrew metre can be wrested and laid bare.

In Lamentations v. a balancing rhythm, in Lamentations iv. an echoing rhythm prevails ; a rapid reading of the two chapters will suffice to verify this general statement. But, if the reader will re-read the chapters with closer attention to details, he will probably feel that Lamentations v. 2—

נחלתנו נהפכה לזרים
בתינו לנכרים

Our inheritance is turned unto strangers,
Our houses unto aliens,

differs not only in respect of its parallelism but also of its rhythm from most of the other verses in the same chapter, and also that, while it is rhythmically unlike most of chap. v., it is

rhythmically like most of Lamentations iv.; it is, for example, rhythmically unlike Lamentations v. 13—

בחורים טחון נשאו
ונערים בעץ כשלו

Young men bare the mill,
And youths stumbled under the wood;

it is, on the other hand, rhythmically like, *e.g.*, Lamentations iv. 8—

זכו נזיריה משלג
צחו מחלב

Her nobles were purer than snow,
Whiter than milk.

One or two other verses in Lamentations v. may at first seem ambiguous: are verses 3 and 14, for example, in balancing or echoing rhythm?

Again, in Lamentations iv., where the echoing rhythm clearly and greatly prevails, a few verses disengage themselves as exceptions; *e.g.* verse 13—

מחטאות נביאיה
עונות כהניה

For the sins of her prophets,
The iniquities of her priests,

gives the impression of balance rather than echo, though the entire rhythmical impression is not quite that which is left by the balancing rhythm of Lamentations v.

Thus, without any more detailed examination or exacter measurement of lines, we reach the important conclusion, which a close study of

Lamentations i. abundantly confirms, that the same poem may contain distichs of different metrical character.

But within what limits may or do these and other differences occur within the same poem? If that question is to be answered we must discover some principle of measurement which will enable us to determine in less simple cases than those just cited when the rhythm remains constant and when it changes, and how.

Is balance, then, due to (1) equality in the *number* of syllables in the two lines, and echo to inequality in the number of syllables? If this be so, then Lamentations v. 3,

יתומים היינו אין אב
אמותינו כאלמנות

Orphans were we, without father,
(And) our mothers (were) as widows,

is in balancing rhythm, the number of syllables in each line being eight.

Or (2) is balance due to the sum of the metrical values of all syllables in each line being the same, even though the number of the syllables differs? The number of syllables in a Latin hexameter varies; but the sum of the metrical values of the syllables must always be equivalent to six spondees. If this were the true account of Hebrew rhythm, it would become necessary to determine what syllables are metrically long, what short.

Or (3) is balance due to equality in the number of stressed or accented words or syllables in the two lines, echo to the presence of a greater number of stressed syllables in the first line, and a smaller number in the second ? If so, is there *no* limit to the number of unstressed syllables that each stressed syllable can carry with it ? If there is a limit, what is it ? Is it no wider than in *Christabel* ? or is it as wide as, or wider than, in Anglo-Saxon poetry ?

Of these three possibilities, the first two seem to me to have been ruled out in the course of discussion and investigation concerning Hebrew metre. I confine myself to some discussion of the third.

It is just possible that some of the ancients had analysed the laws of Hebrew poetry sufficiently to detect the essential character of the stressed syllables. The interesting suggestion has been thrown out [1] that the author of Wisdom, who certainly attempted to naturalise parallelism in Greek, also attempted a new Greek rhythm on the model of the Hebrew by making the parallel periods in Greek contain the same number of accented syllables. Then, again, in the opinion of some the difficult passage in Origen which refers to the subject of Hebrew metre implies an appreciation of the stressed syllables.[2]

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 5344.

[2] Origen's scholion has already been cited above, p. 12 *n*. The subject of the scholion is Psalm cxix. 1—

Be this as it may, there has certainly been an increasing agreement among modern students of this subject, particularly under the influence of Ley,[1] to find in the stressed words or syllables the "pivots or posts," to use Professor Saintsbury's phrase, of the Hebrew rhythm.

But allowing this, what is the limit—for there surely must be some limit—to the number of unstressed syllables that may accompany each or any of the stressed syllables? Again, is there any law governing the position of the stressed syllable in relation to the unstressed syllables that go with it?

Taking the first of these two questions first:—Does a single word extending beyond a certain given number of syllables *necessarily* contain more than one stress? or is such a word ambiguous, capable of receiving two, but capable also of receiving only one stress? And is the actual number of unstressed syllables that may accom-

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אשרי תמי דרך
ההלכים בתורת יהוה

which contains six fully stressed words and is rendered in the LXX—

Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ,
οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου,

which contains six accents. Ley (*Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1892, pp. 212 ff.) argues that one of the things which Origen is struggling to express is that in this particular verse we find the unusual phenomenon of text and translation containing the same number of stressed words and consequently the same rhythm.

[1] Julius Ley, *Die metrischen Formen der hebräischen Poesie*, 1866; *Grundzüge der Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie*, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie*, 1887.

pany a stressed syllable neither less nor more than the number of syllables in the longest Hebrew word with inseparable attachments such as a preposition at the beginning and a suffix at the close ? In other words, is the general rule : one word, one stress, to which words of more than a certain number of syllables, say four, so far form an exception that they *may* receive a second stress ? Or, to put it otherwise, in such longer words may the counter-tone as well as the tone count as a full stress ? I incline to the opinion that by the rule that words of a certain length may, but do not necessarily, receive a double stress, we at least approximate closely to an actual law of Hebrew rhythm. But there is a second question : does every single word receive a stress, or, as in several lines of *Christabel*, may we in Hebrew poetry have not only several syllables but also more words than one to each stress ?

We obtain some light on both these questions from certain characteristics of the Massoretic punctuation, and on the second of them from Assyrian analogy also. The effect of *makkeph* in the Massoretic system is to render unaccented any word which is thus joined to a succeeding word. We may believe that the principle of the Massoretic *makkeph* corresponds to a principle in the ancient language without accepting every particular use of *makkeph* in the Massoretic text

as corresponding to the intention of the original writers. Nothing is more probable than that the negative particle לא, conjunctions like כי, and other particles were frequently toneless: but were they so regularly? If not, and if also we cannot unquestioningly follow the Massoretic punctuation, then an element of uncertainty arises as to the number of stressed syllables in a given line; for example, do the two lines in Isaiah i. 3,

ישראל לא ידע
עמי לא התבונן

Israel doth not know,
My people doth not perceive,

contain each three stresses (as in MT), or each but two? We cannot determine this off-hand. If, indeed, we lay down the principle that two stressed syllables must not immediately follow one another, then the two לא's must be makkepheḍ, for in each line the syllable that precedes לא is stressed; but it is decidedly dangerous to lay this down as a rigid principle, in spite of the strong tendency in MT to use *makkeph* in order to avoid such concurrences. Modern Palestinian popular songs, which have much that is analogous to Hebrew poetry, according to the express testimony of Dalman,[1] admit the concurrence of two tone-syllables. And the import-

[1] "Zuweilen stossen auch zwei betonte Silben unmittelbar auf einander," *Palästinischer Diwân*, p. xxiii.

ance of לא (*not*) in the two lines above cited (for the antitheses to the two lines that precede depend on it) rather strongly indicates that it there received the stress in each line.

But there are other combinations of words that are frequently makkephed in the Massoretic text; for example, constructs and genitives. Again the question arises: were such combinations regularly read with a single stress? if not, has the MT always preserved a correct tradition of the intention of the original writer? We are thus faced with another group of uncertainties. These can perhaps be reduced by observing that in MT there is a far greater tendency to makkeph construct and genitive if the construct case is free from prefixed inseparable particles such as prepositions or the copula; so, *e.g.*, in Lamentations iv. 9 we find חללי־חרב with, but מחללי הרב without *makkeph.*

The Massoretic punctuation rests partly on an ancient tradition, partly on an exegetical theory, partly on an accommodation of the text to a recent mode of reading it. It is valuable, therefore, to have such principles as that the negative particles are normally, and construct cases often, toneless, supported by Assyrian analogy.

In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for 1895 (pp. 11 ff.) Zimmern published an interesting Assyrian inscription, a poem as it appeared to be,

though since, as Dr. Langdon informs me, neither Zimmern himself nor any one else has yet succeeded in making a consecutive translation, it may be in reality a succession of disconnected verses written out in illustration of scansion. In any case the important point is that here we seem to have visualised a mode of scansion that throws light on the composition of the feet or rhythmical units in Assyrian, for these verses are divided by longitudinal lines into four sections, and by latitudinal lines into groups of eleven. The longitudinal lines mark off into separate compartments the four stressed syllables or words with their accompanying unstressed syllables, which here, as in most Assyrian and Babylonian poetry, compose the line.

I will briefly summarise the statements made by Zimmern at the time, based on his first examination of this document; these were amplified in a later article, to which reference will be made below. According to Zimmern, then, the following metrical facts are attested by these scansion tablets :—

(1) Normally there is to one word, one stress; but (2) the relative pronoun (monosyllabic in Assyrian), the copula, prepositions, the negative particles *la* and *ul*, and the optative particle *lu* receive no stress, but go with the following word to form a single-stress group of syllables; so also (3) the status constructus and the genitive

generally receive but one stress — on the other hand, if the second substantive has a pronominal suffix they receive two; (4) two particles and a word, or one particle and a word with a pronominal suffix, form single-stress groups; (5) two words expressing closely related ideas form a single-stress group—*e.g. abi u banti*; (6) a vocative may be inserted without being reckoned in any of the four stress-groups that compose the line.

Though we make the most of the suggestions from both sources, the Massoretic punctuation of the Hebrew text and the scansion of the Assyrian tablets, we shall still be left with a fair range of uncertainty, and many lines of Hebrew poetry will occur in which, judged by themselves, the number of stresses will remain ambiguous. And that ambiguity will be still further increased when we attempt to determine what single words, if any, may receive two stresses; here again some light is cast on the possibility of such double stress by the Massoretic punctuation; for as the effect of *makkeph* is to bring two or more words under one tone, so the effect of *metheg* is to indicate the presence in the same word of two tones, of a counter-tone in addition to the main tone. But there is no probability that all the counter-tones marked by *metheg*, such, for example, as the first syllable in forms like קָטְלוּ, really received a stress; and for this theory of double-

stressed words we receive, I think, no very helpful analogy from Assyrian.

The question, then, arises: Can we discover a more accurate method of determining the limits of what may accompany a stressed syllable? It is the attempt to answer this question that occupies in the main the attention of recent theorisers on Hebrew metre, and it is in the attempt to answer it that they diverge from one another.

The popularity which for a time was enjoyed by Bickell's [1] system has waned in favour of that of Sievers, which has the advantage of being very much more elaborately and systematically worked out. I propose very briefly to summarise some of the chief points in Sievers' system, premising at the outset that if it could be held to be established it would (1) greatly reduce, though not entirely eliminate, lines of ambiguous measurement; and (2) give for every line, regarded by itself independently of its association with any other line, a clear rhythmical definition.

In connexion with the present discussion the two fundamental laws of Sievers' system can, perhaps, best be stated thus: (1) the number of unstressed syllables that may accompany a

[1] Gustav Bickell, *Metrices biblicae regulae exemplis illustratae* (1879); *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrice* (1882); *Die Dichtung der Hebräer* (1882). The English reader will find a useful summary of Bickell's system in W. H. Cobb, *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*, pp. 111-128.

stressed syllable must never exceed four, and only in a particular type of cases may it exceed three. Corollary: every word containing more than five syllables must have two stresses. (2) The stressed syllable regularly *follows* the unstressed syllables that accompany it; and more than a single unstressed syllable may never follow the stressed syllable that it accompanies.

Using the term anapaest not of course of a combination of two short followed by a long syllable, but of two unstressed syllables followed by one that is stressed, Sievers claims that the Hebrew rhythm rests on an anapaestic basis, and that the normal foot is

× × ⏑

examples of such feet being דְּרָכִים, יִקְטְלוּ, עַל-בְּנֵי. Possible variations of the normal foot are—

(1) × × × ⏑
(2) × ⏑, and even
(3) ⏑

Moreover, since the stress may fall on a syllable which with an additional and secondary short syllable corresponds to an original single syllable, as in the segholates, further variations are × × ◡ ×, × × × ◡ ×, etc., an example of such feet being לִפְנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ.[1]

[1] After Sievers had indicated his theory in outline, Zimmern (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xii. 382-392) returned to the examination of the scansion tablets referred to above (p. 140 f.), and found that between

If this theory be entirely sound, or even if it closely approximate to the truth, it will considerably diminish the range of uncertainty that must remain so long as we leave entirely undetermined the limits of the unstressed syllables that may accompany a stressed syllable. This may be illustrated by an example: how many stressed syllables are there in each of these lines in Psalm i. 1,

ובדרך חטאים לא עמד
ובמושב לצים לא ישב ?

The question turns on the treatment of לא; was it stressed or unstressed? The Massoretic punctuation leaves the negative in each line disunited from the verb and therefore capable at least of being stressed; and Dr. Briggs [1] in calling the lines tetrameters certainly allows a stress to each לא. I think it may be urged against this

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two stressed syllables at least one, generally two, and not rarely three unstressed syllables occurred, but never or quite rarely more than three.

It may be worth while adding here that Dalman (*Palästinischer Diwân*, p. xxiii, with footnote) has found that, in the modern Palestinian (Arabic) poems that follow not a quantitative but an accentual system, one to three, and occasionally four, unstressed syllables occur between the stressed syllables. The value of these Palestinian analogies lies in the fact that we are dealing not with speculations as to how a written poem was or could be pronounced, but with the manner in which hitherto unwritten poems were actually read to the editor who committed them to writing.

[1] It so happens that I have mainly referred to details in Dr. Briggs' work with which I disagree; the more reason, therefore, that I should recall the fact that in the subject with which I am now dealing Dr. Briggs was a true pioneer, and that he was one of the first writers in English to insist on the fundamental importance in Hebrew prosody of the stressed syllable.

that לא has nothing like the need of emphasis and stress here that it has in the lines previously cited from Isaiah i. 3, where לא ידע is antithetic to ידע in the previous distich. I should therefore think it most probable that the lines were three-stressed and not four-stressed; but apart from the bearing of the rest of the Psalm on the question we cannot determine the point unless we are justified in calling in such a theory as that of Sievers. Now it is perfectly true that even on that system monosyllabic feet are possible, and that לא in particular at times, as in Isaiah i. 3, stands by itself as a foot; but if the anapaest is the basis of the rhythm, we cannot naturally divide each of the two perfectly normal anapaests לא־ידע and לא־ישב into a monosyllabic and a dissyllabic foot; on Sievers' theory the only natural way of reading the two lines is with three stresses; they are, to use Dr. Briggs' terminology, trimeters, not tetrameters.

Sievers' theory, then, if established, would reduce the number of lines which, measured with exclusive reference to the stressed words or syllables only, are ambiguous. Is the theory, then, as a matter of fact, so firmly established on perfectly certain data that it does actually diminish the number of uncertainties that are left when we attempt to count stressed syllables simply without very closely defining either the position which such stressed syllables must

occupy, or the number of unstressed syllables which may accompany them? I doubt it. I cannot here undertake any examination or criticism of Sievers' long and exhaustive exposition of his theory; nor can I examine the arguments, worthy as most of them are of the closest attention, by which he supports certain theories of vocalisation on which his metrical system rests. But these theories, however much may be said for some of them, are not all of them as yet so certainly established as to allow the metrical system, which in part suggests them, but which also certainly rests upon them, to furnish a sufficiently sure instrument for eliminating the uncertainties that arise when we measure a Hebrew text by the stressed syllables only. The degree of uncertainty which the theory would remove is largely counterbalanced by the insecurity of the basis on which it rests.

In illustration of what I have just said it must suffice to refer to a few classes of the conjectural vocalisation adopted by Sievers, all of which are more or less essential to the smooth working out of his system.

(1) Partly on general phonetic grounds, partly from actual features of the Massoretic vocalisation, such as the alternative forms of the type לַמְּלָכִים and לַמַּלְכִים, and the complete abandonment of the reduplication and also of the following syllable in such inflexions as זִכְרֹן from זָכָרוֹן, שְׁנִינוֹת

from שִׁגָּיוֹן, Sievers infers that *regularly* when, owing to inflexion, the full vowel after a reduplicated consonant is lost, the reduplication and also the vowel that followed it were entirely lost also; and that, for example, למלכים was always pronounced *lamlachim* in three syllables, never *lamm*ᵉ*lachim* in four, and ויהי always *waihi* in two syllables (cp. מִידֵי not מִיְדֵי), and never *way*ᵉ*hi* in three syllables.

(2) Again, the consonantal text of the Old Testament distinguishes two forms of the second person perfect alike in the masculine and the feminine. The second person masculine is generally of the form קטלת, more rarely of the form קטלתה, and again the feminine is generally קטלת, and more rarely קטלתי. According to the received vocalisation, the masculine, however spelt, was pronounced *ḳaṭalta*, and the feminine *ḳaṭalt*. Sievers, however, treats *both* the rarer forms קטלתה and קטלתי as trisyllabic, pronouncing them *ḳaṭalta* and *ḳaṭalti* respectively; and he treats the more frequent form קטלת, alike whether masculine or feminine, as dissyllabic, pronouncing it *ḳaṭalt*.

(3) Certain pronominal forms were originally pronounced with a syllable less than in MT; thus MT יָדְךָ, pausal יָדֶךָ, has replaced יָדָךְ; cp. such forms in Origen's *Hexapla* as ηχαλαχ = הֵינָלֶךָ, βαχ = בְּךָ, and in Jerome *goolathach* = גְּאֻלָּתֶךָ. And it is also argued that the endings ־ָהָ, ־ֶהָ were once monosyllabic.

It will be seen from the foregoing examples that the tendency of Sievers' vocalisation is to reduce the number of syllables below the number produced by the received system. Consequently what I stated as the first fundamental law of his metrical system, viz. that not more than *four* unstressed syllables may under any circumstances accompany one stressed syllable, often means not more than *five* stressed syllables counted according to the received system.

One other of Sievers' theories with regard to the pronunciation of Hebrew poetry must also be noted; it works in an opposite direction, and is designed to supply unstressed syllables when their absence would be too keenly felt. Sievers admits monosyllabic feet, but he abhors the concurrence of two stressed syllables; he calls to his aid the analogy of singing: as in singing a single syllable is sung to more than one note by virtually repeating the vowel sound, so Sievers postulates that when tone-syllables appear to follow one another immediately the long tone-syllable was broken up into two in pronunciation; *e.g.* in such circumstances לֹא was pronounced not *lō*, but *lŏ-ō*, and קוֹל not *kōl*, but *kŏ-ōl*, and the metrical foot is in each case not ⏑ – but × ⏑ –.

Two things seem to me to gain probability from Sievers' exhaustive discussion, even though

the elaborated system rests on too much that is still uncertain or insecure : (1) the natural basis of Hebrew rhythm is anapaestic rather than dactylic ; this is really an obvious corollary from the regularity with which the Hebrew accent falls on the last syllable of words, and the infrequency of detached monosyllables, and earlier metrists also have for the most part detected a prevalence of anapaestic or iambic rhythm in Hebrew ; (2) in the union of two or more words under one stress, and in the distribution of long words among two stress groups we should be guided by the principle that the stress groups within the same period are likely to be not too dissimilar in size and character ; and in general it is safer to proceed on the assumption that particles like כי, על, etc., rarely receive the stress unless for some reason an actual sense-emphasis falls upon them.

The sum of the whole matter is that we are left with an instrument for the measurement of rhythm capable of doing some service, but much less delicately accurate, or much less clearly read, than we could wish. With this instrument we must work at the difficult question, which I have so far merely indicated, but which I shall examine more closely in the next chapter : What limits, if any, are set to the number of different rhythms that may be introduced into the same poem ?

In concluding the present chapter I will consider one further possible, and even probable, service which it appears to me that parallelism may render in reducing the element of uncertainty in determining the rhythm of particular lines. In Anglo-Saxon, alliteration clearly distinguishes three of the stressed syllables in a line, leaving only the fourth outwardly undistinguished; Hebrew has no such outward indication of this all-important element in the rhythm; in particular all particles, all construct cases, and some other types of words are rhythmically ambiguous; in any given line they may be stressed or they may not. What I suggest is that parallel terms tended at least to receive the same treatment in respect of stress or non-stress. I will give one or two illustrations of the value of this law if its probability be admitted. If we take by itself the line (Isa. i. 10),

שמעו דבר יהוה קציני סדם

Hear the word of Yahweh, ye judges of Sodom,

we may certainly be in doubt whether דבר יהוה received one stress or two, and whether the whole line was read with four stresses or five. Sievers gives it but four, and thereby in its context, as I believe, treats it wrongly. I suggest that דבר (*word*) ought to receive the same metrical value as its parallel term תורת (*law*) in the completely and symmetrically parallel line or period that

follows, and that we should read both periods alike with five stresses—

שמעו דבר יהוה קציני סדם
האזינו תורת אלהינו עם עמרה

Heár the-wórd of-Yahwéh, júdges of-Sódom,
Give-eár-to the-láw of-our-Gód, peóple of-Gomórrah.

A more troublesome example is Isaiah i. 4—

הוי גוי חוטא
עם כבד עון

Ah! sinful nation,
People laden with iniquity.

This Sievers reads thus—

הוי גוי־חוטא
עם־כבד עון

and so far observes the rule which I am suggesting that he leaves both the parallel terms גוי and עם unstressed; on the other hand, חוטא and its parallel כבד עון do not receive the same treatment, though they are quite capable of so doing. A more probable reading of the lines will be either

הוי־גוי חוטא
עם כבד־עון

or

הוי | גוי חוטא
עם כבד־עון

I take as a last example an *apparent* exception to the law. Lamentations i. 1 reads—

אֵיכָה יָשְׁבָה בָדָד | הָעִיר רַבְּתִי עָם
הָיְתָה כְאַלְמָנָה | רַבְּתִי בַגּוֹיִם
שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת | הָיְתָה לָמַס

How doth she sit solitary, | —the city (once) great in population!
She is become like a widow, | she that was great among the nations:
She that was mistress over provinces, | she hath been (set) to forced labour.

Budde suspected הָעִיר, *the city*, in the first line on the ground that at present the second half of the first line contains three stresses, whereas it should only contain two. Sievers removes the ground for suspicion by treating רַבְּתִי־עָם, *great in population*, together as a single stress. At first this seems, by making רַבְּתִי, *great*, unstressed, to give a term in the first line a metrically different character from that of corresponding terms, רַבְּתִי and שָׂרָתִי, *mistress*, in the second and third lines. But the parallelism of רַבְּתִי in the first line with רַבְּתִי in the second and שָׂרָתִי in the third is, as a matter of fact, not complete; the real parallel in the first line to רַבְּתִי, *great*, in the second line and שָׂרָתִי, *mistress*, in the third is not רַבְּתִי by itself but רַבְּתִי עָם, *great in population*, i.e. *populous*, which, so taken together, is also an antithetic parallel to the single-stressed word בָּדָד, *solitary*, in the first half of the line; it is only when taken together that the words רַבְּתִי עָם express the idea in the mind of the writer, viz. the populousness of the

city, whereas רבתי in the second and שרתי in the third line sufficiently express by themselves the ideas of the "great lady" (in antithesis to "the widow") and "the princess"; בגוים, *among the nations*, and במדינות, *over provinces*, respectively serve merely to amplify the two ideas. The distinction between רבתי עם and רבתי בגוים is shown grammatically by the difference in construction; and the writer probably allowed himself to repeat the same word רבתי in the two lines instead of using two different and synonymous terms on the same kind of principle as that of the well-known law of Arabic poetry that the same word may be repeated in the course of a poem as the rhyme word, provided that the word is used on the two occasions with some difference of meaning.

Thus, perhaps, a close examination of Lamentations i. 1 confirms, rather than reveals an exception to, the law which I have suggested, and incidentally shows that העיר is not merely metrically possible, which Budde had denied and which is all that Sievers claimed, but metrically required.

CHAPTER V

VARIETES OF RHYTHM: THE STROPHE

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Hebrew rhythms fall into two broad classes according as the second line of the successive distichs is equal in rhythmical quantity to, and therefore balances, the first line, or is less in quantity than, and so forms a kind of rhythmical echo of, the first line. Distichs in which a shorter first line is followed by a longer second line are relatively speaking so rare [1] that in a first broad division they may well be neglected; and we may classify the great majority of rhythms not merely as distichs consisting of equal or unequal lines, but, so as to bring out the regular and more striking difference between them, as balancing and echoing rhythms respectively.

But before we can discuss the question of the extent to which, or the sense in which, strophe may be said to be either a regular or an occasional form of Hebrew poetry, it becomes necessary to subdivide these two broad classes of rhythms

[1] Examples are given below, pp. 176–182.

which have hitherto mainly engaged our attention, and then to consider to what extent different rhythms may enter into one and the same poem. This subdivision must be carried through by applying a measure which, as I have pointed out in the previous chapter (p. 150), is less accurate than we could desire, and leaves us with corresponding uncertainties which must not be forgotten. Even when we may be certain of the general class into which a particular distich may fall we may remain uncertain of its exact measurement; for example

ישראל לא ידע
עמי לא התבונן

a distich which occurs in Isaiah i. 3, is certainly a distich of equal lines (balancing rhythm): but whether each line contains three or only two stressed words is, as we have already seen (p. 139), in some measure uncertain.

Whether the unit in Hebrew poetry is the line or the distich has been much discussed; regarded from the standpoint of parallelism, it is obviously the distich that is the unit; the single line in this case is nothing; it is incapable of revealing its character as a parallelism. On the other hand, it is rhythmically just as easy to measure a single line as to measure a distich; and at times it is necessary so to do: for, as there alternate with distichs that consist of parallel lines distichs that

contain no parallelism, so occasionally there alternate with these distichs single lines or monostichs, and also tristichs in which one of the three lines may or may not be parallel to the other two. For these non-parallel isolated stichoi, or the third stichoi of tristichs, measurement of the line becomes necessary.

At the same time, unless an anapaestic rhythm such as Sievers claims to discover, or other rhythm equally well defined, can be shown to prevail within the lines, these isolated stichoi owe their rhythmical character, so far at least as we can discern or measure it, to the fact that they contain the same number of stressed syllables as the halves of the distichs among which they occur.

Thus in any case the distich remains so characteristic of Hebrew poetry that it is better, so far as possible, even in a rhythmical classification, to measure and classify by distich rather than stichos: though the stichos when isolated will of course call for measurement too.

Distichs consist of (i.) those in which the lines are equal; and (ii.) those in which one line (generally the second) is shorter than the other.

The first class of distichs subdivides into (*a*) distichs with two stresses in each line, for which we may use the formula 2 : 2; (*b*) distichs with three stresses in each line (3 : 3); and (*c*) distichs with four stresses in each line (4 : 4).

Of these three types of balancing rhythm the first and third are intimately connected: for four-stress lines are commonly divided into two equal parts by a caesura, and the pause at the caesura is often strong enough to justify, regard being had to rhythmical grounds alone, treating each period of four stresses as a distich of two-stress lines. Any isolated group of two periods of four stresses is best classified as a single distich of four-stress lines, or two distichs of two-stress lines, according as parallelism occurs between the clauses or sentences of two stresses or of four stresses. But in view of this intimate connexion it is not surprising that combinations of two two-stress clauses or sentences, and combinations of two four-stress sentences, occur in the same poem. Such a mixture of rhythms, if in such case we are right in speaking of a mixture of *rhythms* at all, exactly corresponds to the fact that, in the same *ḳinah* or elegy, parallelism sometimes occurs between the two unequal sections of three and two stresses respectively, and sometimes does not; in the latter case we may, if we will, speak of a line of five stresses, and in the former of a distich in which a two-stress line follows a three-stress line; but the line in the one case and the distich in the other are *rhythmically* identical, since each contains five stresses; there is no real change in the rhythm, though the change in the parallelism introduces

a markedly different effect[1] which it is well to render as manifest as possible.

If, at least where parallelism commonly takes place between sections of three and two stresses respectively, we more properly speak of a *distich* of unequal lines than of a *line* of five stresses, then clear examples of distichs of two-stress lines are those which interchange with the 3 : 2 distichs in Lamentations i., iii., iv. : as, for example, iii. 15—

השביעני במרורים
הרוני לענה

He hath filled me with bitterness,
He hath sated me with wormwood.

However we choose to term them, combinations of parallel clauses of two stresses do, as a matter of fact, interchange within the same poem with distichs of four-stress parallel lines : so, for example, in 2 Samuel i. 22—

מדם חללים
מחלב גברים
קשת יהונתן לא־נשוג אחור
וחרב שאול לא־תשוב ריקם

From the blóod of the sláin,
From the fát of the míghty,
The bów of Jonathán túrned not báck,
And the swórd of Sául retúrned not émpty.

For are we not forced by the parallelism to place a much greater pause between the first two sets

[1] Cp. *e.g.* Isaiah i. 10 f., 18-20, 21-26, and see *Isaiah* ("International Critical Commentary"), p. lxvi (Introduction, § 54); see also *ibid.* pp. 4 f., 26, 31.

of two words than between the next two sets, at the end of the first of these four lines than in the middle of the third or fourth line ? And are not the two short parallel periods really separated by almost as strong a pause as the two longer ones that follow ? If we call the two longer ones a distich of four-stress lines, why not the two shorter ones a distich of two-stress lines ? Does not the passage really consist of two distichs rather than of a single tristich (cp. R.V.) of three four-stress lines ?

For another example of this combination we may turn to Isaiah xxi. 3—[1]

על־כן מלאו מתני חלחלה
צירים אחזוני כצירי יולדה
נעויתי משמע
נבהלתי מראות

Thérefore fílled are my lóins with wríthing,
Págns have séized me as of a wóman in trávail.
I am bént (with pain) at what I héar,
I am dismáyed at what I sée.

Here the first two periods must be regarded as a distich of four-stress lines : the lines cannot be subdivided into distichs of two-stress lines as which so much of the rest of the poem may be, and, indeed, is best read.[2]

[1] Cp. *Isaiah*, pp. 348 f. ; also my article, "The Strophic Division of Isaiah xxi. 1-10, and xi. 1-8," in the *Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1912, pp. 190 ff.

[2] The existence of two-stress lines in Isa. xxi. 1-10 is, indeed, denied by Lohmann. In the *Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1912, pp. 49-55, he had urged, and in reply to my criticism (contained in the article mentioned in the previous footnote) he maintains (in the same

Which is the best way to divide the Hebrew text, or even an English translation, though this at least should as far as possible be divided according to the parallelism, often becomes a delicate question. For example, does

המו גוים מטו ממלכות
נתן בקולו תמוג ארץ (Ps. xlvi. 7)

consist of one distich of four-stress lines incompletely parallel to one another (so R.V., *v.* 6)? or of two distichs of two-stress lines, the lines in the first distich being completely parallel, the lines in the second not parallel at all? Thus—

Nations were in tumult,
Kingdoms were moved;
He uttered his voice,
The earth melted.

If Psalm xlvi. 7 be treated as a single distich, then the first line of the distich is marked by an internal and secondary parallelism; and it is

journal, 1913, pp. 262-264), that the whole of this poem except *vv.* 8 and 9 originally consisted of four-stress periods, and that *vv.* 8 and 9 consisted of five six-stress periods, each equally divided by a double caesura into three two-stress sections. But this theory rests on textual emendations that appear to me to lack support independent of the theory itself. I should not very confidently maintain that *v.* 10 must be in its original form; but it is surely very precarious criticism to argue that because the words צפה הצפית are absent from the LXX in *v.* 5, therefore two other words in the same verse, viz. אבול שחוה, were absent from the original text, and that the words absent from the LXX were present in the original text. Nor again can the words "eating, drinking" be dismissed as "trivial." It is distinctly more probable that the princes were bidden to rise after the banquet had begun rather than while the tables were still being laid. But while in this detail I differ from Lohmann, I repeat what I said in my article, that his discussion is in the main a valuable criticism of Duhm's mistaken treatment of Isa. xxi. 1-10.

to be observed generally that the well-defined caesura which regularly occurs in four-stress periods renders it particularly easy for the halves to receive such secondary parallelism, and so to assume, when isolated, an appearance of greater independence. Whatever view we take of particular examples, whether we break them up into distichs of two-stress lines or distichs of four-stress lines, the rhythm remains essentially the same, and our only problem is how best to do justice to other formal elements in the poem which differentiate what are, in the last resort, rhythmically identical periods. There is nothing that is peculiar to Hebrew poetry in this particular kind of uncertainty which is produced when, within a rhythm that remains constant, another poetical form is irregularly followed. A popular metre with English poets in the sixteenth century was the "poulter's" measure, in which lines of twelve syllables alternate with lines of a "poulter's" dozen, *i.e.* of fourteen syllables; these long but unequal lines rhymed.[1] Divide the twelve-syllable line of the poulter's measure in half, and the fourteen-syllable line into lines of eight and six syllables respectively, supply the four short lines thus produced with two sets of

[1] Four lines of Grimald in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Arber, p. 110) may serve as an example:

Of all the heavenly gifts that mortal men commend,
What trusty treasure in the world can countervail a friend?
Our helth is soon decayed; goods, casual, light and vain;
Broke have we seen the force of power, and honour suffer pain.

rhymes instead of one so that they rhyme alternately, and the form of the typical short metre of our hymn-books is the result. But in some cases the origin of short metre asserts itself, and within the same hymn the first and third lines sometimes rhyme and sometimes do not; as, for example, in these two consecutive verses of Wesley's translation of Gerhardt's hymn—

Give to the winds thy fears,
  Hope and be undismayed;
God hears thy sighs, and counts thy tears,
  God shall lift up thy head.

Through waves and clouds and storms
  He gently clears thy way:
Wait thou His time; so shall that night
  Soon end in joyous day—

and so throughout the hymn, though in no regular alternation, we may observe rhymed and unrhymed first and third lines. Rhythmically the two long lines of the old poulter's measure and the four short lines of modern short metre are identical: where rhymes regularly mark off the shorter periods, it is obviously convenient to make this prominent by dividing into four lines; but where the first and third sections only occasionally rhyme, either course might be adopted: and so with a Hebrew poem in which parallelism sometimes, but not invariably or even predominantly, exists between the halves of successive periods of four stresses.

Yet, clearly allied as 2:2 and 4:4 are, at

times it makes some difference whether we treat the passage as in the one form or the other; the main difference lies here, that in ambiguous cases we shall naturally give to the separate lines of what we regard as a distich of two-stress lines a greater independence than if we were to regard these two-stress clauses as merely parts of a single four-stress line. I take as an example Psalm xlviii. There are in this Psalm, as is well known, some difficult phrases and some doubtful text, but the presence of several short parallel clauses, enough, I think, to be characteristic of the poem, is certain: on the other hand, in the present text there is no single clear case of parallelism between four-stress periods. This being so, verse 4 (R.V., *v.* 3) ought, I believe, to be taken not as a single four-stress line (R.V.), but as a distich 2 : 2 ; it consists of two independent parallel lines—

אלהים בארמנותיה
נודע למשגב

God is in her palaces;
He hath made himself known as a high retreat.[1]

[1] If—and it surely is—it is a good thing to preserve, when this can be done without detriment to the sense or to English idiom, as much as may be of the swing and rhythm of the original, the Prayer-Book version of Psalm xlviii. is not happy, and A.V. ruins the first verse by omitting a comma. On the other hand, R.V. in *vv.* 1, 2 (Hebrew 2, 3) is very happy, and only goes astray with the crucial verse 3 (Hebrew 4). Its rendering, which does not differ here essentially from P.B.V. and A.V., might pass if the rhythm of the original were 4 : 4, but is improbable if the rhythm in the previous verses is, as taken, and correctly taken, as I believe, by R.V. to be, 2 : 2. Dr. Briggs, on the other hand, by the help of some emendations, reduces the whole of verses 1-3 (2-4) to 4 : 4 and renders as follows :—

The latter part of verse 3 (2) of the same Psalm offers, if the text is correct, an example of a tristich of two-stress lines. Clearer examples of the way in which the rhythm produced by a succession of two-stress parallel lines or clauses may expand not only into four-stress periods with a caesura, but also at times into six-stress periods with a double caesura, may be found in Isaiah iv. and xxi. 1-10: I have already cited two-stress and four-stress distichs from the latter passage; the six-stress passage occurs in verse 8—

על־מצפה אדני | אנכי עמד | תמיד יומם
ועל משמרתי | אנכי נצב | כל הלילות

Upon a watch tower, O Lord, | am I standing | continually by day,
And upon my guard-post | am I stationed | all the nights.

Great and highly to be praised in the city is our God.
His Holy Mount is beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth.
Mount Zion on the northern ridge is a royal city.
Yahweh doth strive in her citadels, is known for a high tower.

Apart from the validity of the emendations presupposed, this treatment of the passage seems to me to have against it the fact that it gives an aesthetically inferior result. Some corruption of the text there may be, and in particular the tristich in verse 3 is questionable, but substantially we may, I think, reproduce the sense and rhythm of the original as follows:—

Great is Yahweh,
  And highly to be praised,
In the city of our God,
  The mountain of his holiness.
Fair in elevation,
  The joy of the whole earth,
Is the mountain of Sion,
  The recesses of the North,
  The City of the Great King.
God is in her palaces;
  He hath made Himself known as a high retreat.

The importance of this expansion of 2 : 2 into 4 : 4 or 6 : 6, as the case may be, will appear later.

Of the balanced rhythm, produced by the union of three-stress lines (3 : 3), it is unnecessary to say much at the present point. These lines *may*, but rarely do, admit a caesura ;[1] and this may occur after the first or the second stress : it may be somewhat strongly marked, as in

וכלביא | מי יקימנו

And as a lioness—who shall rouse him up ?
(Num. xxiv. 9)

or slighter as in both lines of Psalm li. 9—

תחטאני באזוב | ואטהר
תכבסני | ומשלג אלבין

Unsin me with hyssop, | and I shall be clean ;
Wash me, | and I shall be whiter than snow.

While, therefore, 3 : 3 differs from 2 : 2 owing to its greater fullness, it differs from 4 : 4 not only

[1] If Vetter's theory of caesura, as propounded in his *Metrik des Buches Job* (1897), were correct, caesura in 3 : 3 would, indeed, be common enough. For 3 : 3 is common in the Book of Job, and Vetter argues that every line of that poem contains a caesura, and thereby differs from Lam. i.-iv. where the longer line (of the 3 : 2 distichs) alone contains a caesura, the shorter being without one. But, according to Vetter's own primary statistical analysis, in only 577 lines out of a total of over 2000 is the caesura immediately obvious ; and of these 577 lines not a few are four-stress lines. In many of the three-stress lines among the 577 there is certainly a caesura, though perhaps not actually in all ; and Vetter's attempt to prove that there is a real caesura in the 1500 odd lines in which it is not immediately obvious, breaks down : see especially König's careful criticism in his *Stylistik*, pp. 323-330. Incidentally Vetter's book contains a large amount of carefully classified and valuable observation.

owing to its less fullness, but also owing to this general absence of caesura, which is almost constantly present in 4 : 4; or, if caesura is present in 3 : 3, this rhythm still differs markedly from 4 : 4 owing to the fact that in the one case the caesura necessarily creates an unequal division of the line, whereas in the other it regularly creates an equal division of the line. In either case the difference between 3 : 3 and 4 : 4 is more than a mere difference of fullness, and the effect is strikingly dissimilar.

We come now to consider distichs of which the two lines are not of equal length, or, as we may prefer to regard some of the examples, lines of which the two parts separated by a caesura are not of equal length. With reference to what is in any case the normal echoing rhythm, viz. 3 : 2, it is unnecessary to add anything to what has been already said above. But, as legitimate variations of 3 : 2, Budde, as we have seen (p. 92), admitted in addition to 2 : 2, which by his theory of heavy words he endeavoured to equate with 3 : 2, distichs of the type 4 : 2 and 4 : 3. Whether either 4 : 2 or 4 : 3 ever really produces the echo that is characteristic of 3 : 2 is doubtful; for in most cases at all events the longer line of 4 : 2 and 4 : 3 is itself divided into two equal parts by a caesura; so that 4 : 2, so far from producing the echo which this arithmetical symbol might suggest, often closely approximates in *rhythmical*

character to a tristich of two-stress lines (2 : 2 : 2), *i.e.* to a *balancing* rhythm ; and in the same way 4 : 3 tends to approximate to 2 : 2 : 3, where also the effect of echo may be and sometimes certainly is lost. Be this, however, as it may, neither 4 : 2 nor 4 : 3 is, as a matter of fact, at all a frequent variation of 3 : 2, though, unless we correct the existing text simply in order to eliminate them, it cannot be denied that such variations do occasionally occur in poems where the dominant rhythm is unmistakably 3 : 2. Such a poem is Isaiah xiv. 4-21, and the present text contains two 4 : 2 distichs—in *v.* 5 [1] and *v.* 16 c, d. These read—

שבר יהוה | מטה רשעים ‖ שבט משלים

Yahwéh hath bróken | the stáff of the wícked,
The ród of the rúlers ;

and

הזה האיש | מרגיז הארץ ‖ מרעיש ממלכות

Is thís the mán | who made the eárth trémble,
Who made kíngdoms quáke ?

In both these examples the caesura dividing the longer line into two equal halves is obvious ; and the effect produced is an approximation of the whole of each complete period to a tristich in balanced measure (2 : 2 : 2). True, in these particular examples owing to the shorter line

[1] Sievers' attempt to read this verse (which, to be sure, he pronounces to be a "sehr fragliche Vers") even in the present text as 3 : 2 by treating מטה־רשעים as one stress, and its parallel שבט משלים as two, violates the law discussed at the end of the last chapter.

being exactly and completely parallel to the latter half of the longer line, there is a *sense* echo, which we may represent in symbols thus—a . b . c . d | c′ d′. But if we wish to reduce the lines to 3 : 2, so as to obtain the characteristic *rhythmical* echo, we must omit יהוה in the one case and האיש in the other: this leaves admirable distichs—

Bróken is the stáff of the wícked,
The ród of the rulers;

and

Is thís who made eárth trémble,
Who made kíngdoms quáke?

but for these omissions the only really strong reason would be the theory, the validity of which is in question, that 4 : 2 may never occur in a poem mainly consisting of 3 : 2.

Even apparent examples of 4 : 2 in Lamentations i.-iv. are very few. Perhaps the only[1] actual example is iv. 20—

רוח אפנו | משיח יהוה || נלכד בשחיתותם

The bréath of our nóstril, the anóinted of Yahwéh,
Is táken in their píts.

But this is an actual example, for it could not be satisfactorily reduced to 3 : 2 by makkephing one

[1] It is very improbable that iv. 18 b was really another, as it appears to be in the existing text—

קרב קצנו מלאו ימינו כי־בא קצנו

The first קצנו is almost certainly incorrect, and perhaps, as has been suggested, the two words קרב קצנו stand where there was originally the one word קצרו. Budde cites also, as examples of 4 : 2 in Lam. i.-iv., ii. 13 a and iii. 56; but ii. 13 a can be read, as in MT, as 3 : 2, and in iii. 56 the text is doubtful.

and one only of the two pairs of words that constitute the first line. Here again the caesura in the longer line is obvious; and in this instance there is no sense echo even; the real parallelism is between the two halves of the longer line; the parallel scheme is a . b | a′. b′ | c . d, and the approximation to a balanced tristich 2 : 2 : 2 strikingly close.

Whether either 4 : 2 or 4 : 3 ever acquired the same independence as 2 : 2, 3 : 3, 4 : 4, or 3 : 2 is doubtful; neither ever seems to constitute the dominant rhythm of a poem of any length, still less to prevail throughout such a poem. But neither 4 : 2 nor 4 : 3 is a mere variant of 3 : 2; as such the occurrence of these rhythms is at most very infrequent. On the other hand, the existence certainly of 4 : 2, and probably of 4 : 3, apart from poems in which the dominant rhythm is 3 : 2, is well established. Sievers was, I believe, the first to claim clearly that 4 : 3 was, so to speak, a rhythm in its own right, that, at all events, it was not only a mere variant of 3 : 2; he thereby made it possible to regard certain poems as more regular than they had previously appeared to be. In his earlier work[1]

[1] *Metrische Studien*, i. 102, 117, 569-571. In his *Text-proben* he found, in addition to many examples in Ps. ix., x. discussed above, several doubtful examples of 4 : 3 in Ps. iv., and six or seven examples in Mal. i. 10-13. A few other examples selected from his *Text-proben* or his collection in the appendix (570 f.) are: Judg. v. 4 c, d; Ps. i. 5, 6, xii. 4; Job iii. 6 (to שנה), iv. 10, 11; Prov. i. 5, 8; Isa. xl. 12 c, d. An example not cited by Sievers may be found in the present text

Sievers himself regarded this rhythm as rare, though in an appendix he briefly stated, what he has since endeavoured to work out, that, though rare in those parts of the Old Testament which have commonly been understood to be poetry, it was the regular rhythm of those Hebrew narratives which, though they have commonly been regarded as prose, are in reality metrical. The one poem among those first studied by Sievers in which 4 : 3 seemed to him to be frequent, was Psalms ix. and x. In some respects this is obviously a bad specimen to be obliged to work from, for the destruction in parts of it of the alphabetic scheme gives us a fair warning that the text is corrupt.[1] Still, making all allowance for this, Sievers seems to me to make out a tolerably safe case for 4 : 3 as an independent rhythm, though, unless he is right in finding it prevalent in narratives commonly regarded as prose, it was nothing like so frequent as 2 : 2, 3 : 3, 4 : 4, and 3 : 2.

Some years ago, before I had familiarised myself with Sievers' work, and, I think, before I had ever even looked into his book, I attempted a reconstruction of Psalms ix., x.[2] In so doing

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of Hos. viii. 4; but this may originally have been 3 : 3, for הם may well be a mere dittograph of the first two letters of the following word המליכו. See also Job i. 21.

[1] See below, Chapter VIII.

[2] In an article in the *Expositor* (Sept. 1906, pp. 233-253): this now appears as Chapter VIII. of the present work.

I remarked: "The lines throughout the poem are of equal or approximately equal length, the normal length being three or four accented words. Of the eighty-three lines into which the Revised Version divides the two Psalms, fifteen are abnormally long or short, *i.e.* they contain more than four or less than three accented words." But as I then proceeded to show, these fifteen exceptionally long or short lines in the Revised Version mostly vanish when even the present Hebrew text is correctly divided and punctuated. The poem, then, consisted almost, if not quite, entirely of *lines* of three or four accents. This conclusion was, of course, consistent with some or all of the *distichs* being 4 : 3; but Dr. Cheyne, who had a short time before devoted a careful study[1] to the metre as well as to other aspects of the poem, excluded this possibility, for he found in the fact that the poem was partly trimeters, partly tetrameters, an indication either of the imperfect skill of the Psalmist in the management of his metre, or of the interference of a second writer with the original. Dr. Briggs's view[2] seems to be similar. But if it was the *intention* of the writer to use some 4 : 3 *distichs*, it is that intention and neither lack of skill nor subsequent

[1] In the *Book of Psalms* (1904), i. 27 f.

[2] In the "International Critical Commentary," p. 70, and the notes, pp. 72 and 74, on the ג and ב strophes: he rejects these strophes in their entirety because they appear to him to consist of four-stress lines, and according to his theory the poem was originally exclusively 3 : 3.

alteration of the poem that is the real reason why the poem contains both trimeter and tetrameter *lines*. Dr. Cheyne's criticism is tantamount to a denial of the existence of a rhythm 4 : 3, just as it would be tantamount to a denial of 3 : 2 to complain that Lamentations i.-iv. consists partly of trimeters and partly of dimeters.

Of the forty distichs measured by Sievers in Psalms ix., x. he regards twelve [1] as clear examples and twenty-two others as probable examples of 4 : 3; the latter and larger group depend on assuming some textual corruption, and a few, or perhaps even most, of the smaller group are in some degree ambiguous; but, even if we had no other evidence than that of Psalms ix., x., it would seem to me unsafe to deny the probability of the actual existence of 4 : 3 distichs. We shall have to examine some interesting examples of these in the next chapter (p. 234); meantime, I give two of the clearest examples in Psalms ix., x., viz. x. 16 and ix. 9 :

יהוה [2] מלך עולם ועד
אבדו גוים מארצו

Yahweh [2] hath become king for ever and ever,
Perished are the nations out of his land.

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[1] Viz. ix. 9, 10, 12, 13, 20; x. 1, 2 (to השבו), 13, 14a, b and c, d, 15, 16.

[2] Briggs reduces this to 3 : 3 by omitting יהוה: he is then compelled to treat יהוה as a vocative and to render,

O King, for ever and ever.

והוא[1] ישפט תבל בצדק
ידין לאמים במישרים

And 'tis He[1] will judge the world in righteousness,
He will pass sentence on the peoples in equity.

Before we pass to a further consideration of 4 : 2 rhythm it will be convenient to refer briefly to what might in the abstract appear to be natural variations of 4 : 3 and 3 : 2, viz. 3 : 4 and 2 : 3; as a matter of fact both these last-named rhythms are exceedingly rare. Nor is this difficult to understand, if the desire that was satisfied by 4 : 3 and 3 : 2 was a desire for an echoing effect: for 3 : 2 produces a rhythmical echo, 2 : 3 does not; whether 4 : 3 commonly produced such an echo is more doubtful, and certainly the proportion of apparent examples of 3 : 4 to 4 : 3 distichs is much greater than that of 2 : 3 to 3 : 2. The unambiguous examples of 2 : 3 are so few that some scholars, even where nothing but rhythmical considerations suggest it, would simply convert 2 : 3 into 3 : 2 by transposing the longer and shorter lines. As good an example of 2 : 3 as any may be found in the first of the two following long and incompletely parallel lines from Isaiah xxxvii. 26:

הלא שמעת | למרחוק אותה עשיתי
מימי קדם ויצרתיה | עתה הבאתיה

Hast thou not heard? | Long ago I wrought it;
In days of old I formed it; | now I have brought it to pass.

[1] In order to reduce this to 3 : 3 Briggs omits הוא.

The position of the caesura in the first line here is unmistakable; and equally unmistakable is the greater length of the second than of the first part of the line. But unless rhythm demands it, there is no ground for transposing the two parts, though sense would clearly *admit* of such transposition.[1]

Another clear case of the shorter preceding the longer section is Isaiah i. 23 (from יתום) if, as the dominant rhythm suggests, this is a five-stress rather than a six-stress period.[2] Again

[1] The transposition was suggested by Haupt and adopted by Cheyne in his critical Hebrew text in Haupt's edition of *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ("The Polychrome Bible"). Stade in his edition of the Books of Kings for the same work, which was published later, declined to admit the transposition; but Haupt still maintained his opinion, and remarked that, if the transposition were made, the first hemistich of the first line became parallel to the first hemistich of the second line. This remark is correct, but if it is intended as an argument, it is precarious: the parallelism between the two lines in the existing text may be represented thus—

a . b | c . d2
c′2 . d′ | e . f

Adopting the transposition, it becomes

a . b2 | c . d
a′2 . b′ | e . f

But in view of what has been said in Chapter II., and especially on pp. 64 ff., the former of these schemes cannot be regarded as abnormal, though it is of a less frequent type than the second. As a matter of fact Lam. i. 11 a, b, 20 a, b present two schemes similar to that of the existing text of Isa. xxxvii. 26. The transposition was suggested afresh by Sievers (*Metrische Studien*, i. p. 441): some considerations against it are offered by Stade (*op. cit.* p. 280).

[2] Sievers treats the line as 2 : 2 : 2, for which (or rather for 2 : 4) in another connexion there would be much to be said. Should we perchance read יָרֹבּוּ for יבוא אליהם ? The LXX does not clearly correspond to the present Hebrew text. If we read יָרֹבּוּ the line is unmistakably 2 : 3—unless we transpose its parts.

Lam. iii. 27 is clearly a five-stress period, and seems most naturally read as 2 : 3; and so with ii. 8 b—

נטה קו | לא־השיב ידו מבלע

He stretched out the line, | he withdrew not his hand from destroying.

But is it so certain, as it might seem to be at first sight, that in the following four cases the main pause was meant to be placed after the second and not after the third word ?

(*a*) זכור תזכר ותשח עלי נפשי

Surely remembereth and is bowed down upon me my soul. (Lam. iii. 20.)

(*b*) אלה אזכרה ואשפכה עלי נפשי

These I remember and pour out upon me my soul. (Ps. xlii. 5.)

(*c*) אז איתם ונקיתי מפשע רב

Then shall I be perfect and innocent from the great transgression.—(Ps. xix. 14.)

(*d*) מאז שכבת לא־יעלה הכרת עלינו

Since thou hast lain down, the feller cometh not up against us. (Isa. xiv. 8.)

It is worth while to consider these in the light of seven consecutive lines of five stresses which occur in Isaiah xli. 11-13—

הן יבשו ויכלמו כל־הנחרים בך
יהיו כאין ויאבדו אנשי ריבך
תבקשם ולא תמצאם אנשי מצתך
יהיו כאין וכאפס אנשי מלחמתך
כי־אני יהוה אלהיך מחזיק ימינך
האמר לך אל־תירא אני עזרתיך
אל־תיראי תולעת יעקב מתי ישראל

which may be translated thus, so as to preserve the order of the Hebrew clauses—

Behold, they shall be ashamed and confounded—all that
were enraged at thee;
They shall become nought and perish—the men who con-
tended with thee;
Thou shalt seek them and not find them—the men who
strove with thee;
They shall become nought and nothing—the men who
warred with thee;
For I am Yahweh, thy God, who holdeth fast thy right hand;
Who saith to thee, Fear not; I have helped thee;
Fear not, thou worm Jacob, ye men of Israel.

The last three lines are very obvious examples of the rhythm 3 : 2; and that the four previous lines are to be read in the same way is scarcely less certain; the last clauses in each of these four lines consist of two words, and they are parallel to one another; in the third line the last clause is in apposition to, or a detached expansion of, the object (ם . .) of the sentence which forms the longer half of the line—"them—the men who strove with thee"; in the remaining three lines the last clauses *could* be regarded as the subjects of the verbs in the longer parts of the lines, though the normal position for them in this case would be immediately after the (first) verb, viz. יבשו in the first, יהיו in the second, and יהיו in the fourth line; in view of the parallelism of these clauses in the first, second, and fourth lines with the *necessarily* detached clause at the end of the third line, it is more

probable that they were treated by the writer as detached amplifications of the subject implicit in the verbal forms יבשו ויכלמו, ויאבדו . . יהיו and יהיו respectively; in other words, if we would preserve in translation the structure of the sentences intended by the writer, we must translate as above and not as the sentences are translated, for example, in the Revised Version.

If now we return to the four examples given on p. 178, we may feel that in (*a*) the writer intended the nominative clause עלי נפשי to be preceded by a pause, the two verbs with the common subject being taken rapidly together; in any case the sentence is constructed with some artifice, for the normal position of נפשי would be after the first clause. Example (*b*) but for the reminiscence of (*a*) certainly looks like a genuine 2 : 3, for עלי נפשי in its entirety belongs to ואשפכה and not at all to אזכרה. But in (*c*) is מפשע רב intended to be taken with the second verb only? Finally, in (*d*) are not the contrasted verbs to be closely associated, יעלה sufficiently completing the sentence for the moment and then being reinforced by the nominative sentence which follows, but which was intended to be pronounced after a pause? If this view be correct we may translate, not as above, but—

> Since thou hast lain down, there cometh not up
> The feller against us.

Though several apparent instances[1] of 2 : 3 are found on examination to be open to suspicion, it is probable that this rhythm was actually used though with extreme infrequency. Instances, at least apparent instances, of 3 : 4 are actually rather more numerous than those of 2 : 3, and consequently the proportion of 3 : 4 to 4 : 3, itself a rare rhythm, is much greater than that of 2 : 3 to 3 : 2. One or two illustrations may suffice here : in Exodus xv. 14 we have

שמעו עמים ירגזון | חיל אחז ישבי פלשת[2]

The peoples heard, they trembled ;
Pangs took hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.

Another example may be found in Psalm iv. 8—

נתתה שמחה בלבי | מעת דגנם ותירושם רבו

Thou hast put gladness in my heart
Greater than when their corn and new wine increase.

In addition to seven[3] examples of 3 : 4 which he regards, whether rightly or wrongly, as incontestable, Sievers (pp. 113 f.) examines thirty-one possible examples, including Numbers xxiv. 3,

[1] In addition to those given above Sievers (p. 111) gives as possible, but not all of them probable, examples, Isa. i. 19, v. 1 (to לכרמו), Ps. v. 11 (to ממעצותיהם), all of which might perhaps be 2 : 2 ; Jonah ii. 5, Jer. ii. 28 (from כי־מספר) ; Isa. xl. 4 (but ? read וכל־הר ישפל and so obtain a distich 2 : 2). The two consecutive examples of 2 : 3 at the end of Jonah i. 7 occur in a passage commonly treated as prose, but by Sievers as poetry.

[2] But if חיל אחז (‖ to ירגזון) be makkephed, even this example becomes 3 : 3.

[3] Jer. ii. 20 (to אעבור), 24 (to רוח), Ezek. ii. 1, xv. 7 (to תאכלם), Hos. ii. 4, 7 (from נאני), Prov. iii. 7.

Judges v. 2, 2 Samuel xxiii. 1, Isaiah v. 5, 17, 25, Psalm iv. 8, Job iv. 12, 20, but he finds these almost all open to doubt: either the text[1] is doubtful, or it is not clear that the periods in question must be read as 3 : 4.

The rare occurrence of 4 : 2 as a variant of 3 : 2 has already been considered (pp. 169-172): there remains for consideration the use of this rhythm in other connexions. A full period of six stresses admits of several modes of division, and these actually occur, (1) 2 : 2 : 2, which, if the sections are marked by parallelism, or are otherwise strikingly independent, may be termed a tristich of two-stress lines; (2) 3 : 3, the commonest of all divisions of the six-stress period;[2] and finally (3) 4 : 2 and 2 : 4. In these last there may be, and commonly is, a slight pause in the longer part of the period, but it is so much less strong than the pause that divides the entire six-stress period into the two unequal divisions that

[1] The influence of textual corruption in the production of apparent examples of 3 : 4 can be observed by comparing the two texts of Ps. xviii.=2 Sam. xxii. The text of the Psalm presents three fairly clear examples of this rhythm: see *vv.* 7 (from ישמע), 29, 35; but in the text of 2 Sam. the line in *v.* 7 is 3 : 2 (it was, perhaps, originally 3 : 3), and *v.* 29 is 3 : 3. The Hebrew text of *v.* 35 is rhythmically identical in the Psalm and 2 Sam., but the Lucianic text of the LXX suggests a text which is 3 : 3.

[2] Six-stress periods divided now into two equal parts (3 : 3) by a single caesura, now into three equal parts (2 : 2 : 2) by a double caesura, may occur in the same poem (*e.g.* Isa. xxvi.); Sievers has compared the alternation of hexameters with a single and a double caesura as in the first two lines of the *Iliad*—

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, || Πηληιάδεω 'Αχιλῆος
οὐλομένην | ἣ μυρί' 'Αχαιοῖς | ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν.

the difference between 4 : 2 and 2 : 4 on the one hand and 2 : 2 : 2 on the other is clear. The rhythms 4 : 2 and 2 : 4 occur, mainly at all events, as alternatives to 3 : 3. Thus the long poem in Isaiah ix. 7–x. 4, in which 3 : 3 clearly predominates, opens with a 4 : 2 distich—

דבר שלח אדני ביעקב
ונפל בישראל

The Lord hath sent a word against Jacob,
And it shall fall upon Israel.

And we may probably find an example of 2 : 4 preceding 3 : 3 in Psalm i. 1—

אשרי האיש
אשר לא־הלך בעצת רשעים
ובדרך חטאים לא־עמד
ובמושב לצים לא־ישב

Happy is the man
Who hath not walked in the counsel of the wicked;
Nor stood in the way of sinners,
Nor sat in the company of scorners.

The interest of these rhythms, 4 : 2 and 2 : 4, is considerable; though, rhythmically, a distich appears to be the union of two lines, so that the line rather than the distich might be regarded as the rhythmical unit, the practice, which is not, to be sure, very frequent, of equating two periods of six stresses, though in one the two sections produced by the caesura are equal, in the other unequal, indicates that the unity of the six-stress period was strongly felt—a fact which is further

indicated by the occasional parallelism of complete periods of six stresses.[1] Moreover, if we can trust [2] the text in Psalm cxii. 6—

כי־לעולם לא־ימוט
לזכר עולם יהיה צדיק

For never can he be moved,
An everlasting remembrance shall the righteous be—

we have, as Sievers has pointed out, yet another indication that the division of a six-stress period into two unequal sections was considered as legitimate as the division into two (or three) equal sections, and the two unequal parts in the one case were regarded as each possessing the same degree of independence and completeness as each of the equal parts in other cases; for Psalm cxii. is an alphabetic psalm in which the alphabetic scheme marks off not successive six-stress periods, but sections of such periods.

I have now indicated, and given a few typical or more secure examples of, certain kinds of differences that may occur within the same poem. I will now briefly resume two or three of the more important points: (1) The typical echoing rhythm is 3 : 2; with this 2 : 2 alternates, sometimes occasionally, sometimes, as in Lamentations i., frequently; other distichs of unequal lines, 4 : 3 or 4 : 2, are at best much rarer alterna-

[1] *E.g.* in Lam. v. 9, 10: see above, p. 93.

[2] But it is obviously not improbable that צדיק has shifted down from the first into the second line.

tives. (2) Of the fundamental balancing rhythms 2 : 2 and 4 : 4 are closely allied and interchange, and by expansion a further natural and occasional variant is 2 : 2 : 2. (3) But this last-mentioned alternative to 2 : 2 or 4 : 4 constitutes a link with the third fundamental balanced rhythm, viz. 3 : 3; for 3 : 3 and 2 : 2 : 2 are but different ways of dividing the same higher unity, viz. the six-stress period, which may yet again divide into 4 : 2 or 2 : 4. But (4) in respect of these possible variants poems differ much: some poems contain almost or quite exclusively 3 : 2 distichs, not even admitting the variant 2 : 2, and similarly 3 : 3 is maintained without any break through entire poems or long passages in the book of Job; in other poems, the alternatives, clear or ambiguous, are so numerous that even what is the basal or dominant rhythm remains doubtful.[1]

[1] In many of these cases where parallelism or other features indicate that we have to do with a poem, but the metrical irregularity or ambiguity is so great that we cannot even determine what is the dominant rhythm, the question of interpolation almost necessarily arises, unless indeed we assume that a Hebrew poet mingled not only distichs of different types, but with these also entirely unrhythmical periods. For this we should find an analogy in Babylonian, if we may accept a recent assertion of Dr. Langdon's that "Babylonian poets felt themselves at liberty to insert prose lines at any juncture" in a poem. This assertion occurs in a note (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxxiv. (1912), p. 77, *n.* 32) on a transcription and translation of a recently published Assyrian text in which some lines are divided into hemistichs by a space in the middle of the line, and others are not. The tablet certainly seems to contain lines that fit with difficulty into the rhythm 2 : 2 (or 4 : 4); but some of the lines without a space in the middle seem as clearly rhythmical as those which have the space. Thus of lines 6 and 7—

I am perhaps leaving too much insecure for it to be wise to advance further; but the question of the strophe towards which I have been working in this chapter I will briefly discuss—briefly, because what can be safely said here does not require many words to state it, and what has been both unsafely and erroneously asserted has already received, perhaps, sufficient refutation from other writers.

Variations in rhythm would be very readily explained if it could be shown that the poems in which they are found fall into sections in which the same variations recur regularly and in the same manner. But even the alleged evidence of this is slight. Sievers (pp. 121 f.) suggests that originally in Lamentations i. each alphabetic section consisted of one five-stress line (or 3 : 2 distich) followed by two four-stress lines (or 2 : 2 distichs); and that the same rhythmical variation 5 : 4 : 4 was thus repeated originally twenty-two times. Unfortunately, this rhythmical scheme can only be imposed upon the poem by much

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Šâru la tâbu it-ta-bak u-ri-e-a
me-ḫu-û dannu ḳaḳḳadi ut-ti-iḳ,

the former lacks and the latter shows the space; but the former is as clearly a four-stress line as the latter, and they are closely parallel to one another, as we may see from Dr. Langdon's translation—

An evil wind is blown upon my roof,
A mighty deluge passes over my head.

The use of the space to mark the hemistich is not of course peculiar to this tablet; it is found in some of the texts of the Creation Epic (see Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 401 *n.*; King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i.).

quite arbitrary textual emendation. Again, in Canticles i. 4 Sievers finds two strophes each containing two distichs 3 : 3 followed by a two-stress monostich. But at best such cases seem too rare to point to any strophic system in Hebrew based on this principle.

There are, however, one or two obvious features of certain Hebrew poems that have frequently been admitted to prove the existence of strophes in Hebrew poetry; and rightly, if we use the term strophe in no too restricted sense. The first of these features is the alphabetic scheme in certain poems. It does not seem to me a sound criticism of the argument from that feature to say that the alphabetic scheme cannot point to a strophic division because in Psalms cxi., cxii. it marks off single stichoi. All that follows is that in this instance the units of which the succession is marked by their initial letters being the successive letters of the alphabet is the stichos; and so in Nahum i. and Psalm xxv. it is the distich. It is perfectly possible that, when the alphabetic sections are more than a distich long, these sections may have something more characteristic of them than that they consist of so many distichs or lines. And as a matter of fact in Lamentations i., ii., and iv., and very conspicuously in ii., the groups of 3 : 2 (or 2 : 2) distichs form real verse-paragraphs, for which we may conveniently use the term

strophe; the clear but slight sense-pause within the distich, and the greater sense-pause at the end of each distich, are matched by a regularly recurring still greater sense-division at the end of every third distich in Lamentations i. and ii., of every second in Lamentations iv.; and for this reason a single use of the alphabetic letter at the beginning of each *group* of distichs suffices, for the sense holds the group together and gives it a unity. On the other hand, in Lamentations iii., and, I think, the same may be said of Psalm cxix., the distichs united under the same letter have no regular close sense-connexion with one another, or sense-separation from the distichs united under the neighbouring letters of the alphabet; and indeed in Lamentations iii., it will be remembered, the best examples of distichs parallel to one another, and, therefore, closely related to one another in sense, are distichs belonging to *different* alphabetic groups.[1] Now it is remarkable that precisely in this poem, where the successive distichs of an alphabetic section are not welded together by sense-connexion and so form no organic unity, their union is secured by the purely external device of repeating the same initial letter at the beginning of each distich of the alphabetic section; and so in Psalm cxix. Lamentations i., ii., and iv. each consists of twenty-two equal verse-paragraphs

[1] See above, p. 141.

which coincide with the alphabetic sections of the poems ; Lamentations iii. consists of sixty-six distichs, three consecutive distichs throughout having the same initial letter, but the poem contains no regular system of verse-paragraphs,[1] and where something approaching a verse-paragraph emerges it as often as not does not coincide with an alphabetic section.

The real conclusion suggested by the alphabetic poems of the Old Testament, then, appears to be this : some Hebrew poems were divided into larger sense-divisions consisting of the same number of distichs throughout the poem, and some were not.

The other feature of some Hebrew poems that has often been regarded as pointing to a strophic division is the occurrence of refrains. This, again, does clearly mark off successive sections of a poem from one another, and more directly and naturally than an alphabetic scheme leads to a division of the poem into sections corresponding to the greater sense-divisions of the poems. In some of these poems the refrain occurs at equal, or approximately equal, intervals (*e.g.* Isa. ix. 7–x. 4, Ps. xlii.-xliii.), in others at irregular intervals (Ps. xlix.). I am, of course, referring to the intervals in the present Hebrew text, or of that text as it may be emended by

[1] The spaces in the R.V. of Lamentations iii. and the lack of spaces in Lamentations i., ii., and iv. suggest the exact opposite of the actual facts.

the help of the ancient versions; I am not for the moment considering whether the practice of some modern scholars in making conjectural deletions from the text so that the refrain shall always occur at *exactly* equal intervals is sound or not.

Some Hebrew poems consist largely or even entirely of a succession of very loosely connected lines or distichs; now and again one or two distichs may be more closely connected than the rest, but for the most part we cannot speak of greater sense-divisions in such poems at all; and then nothing that can with any degree of propriety be termed a strophe disengages itself. But other poems do develop a theme in such a manner that greater sense-divisions necessarily result; in this case it seems to me convenient in a translation to distinguish the verse-paragraphs resulting from these greater sense-divisions by spacing between them: otherwise we fail to mark externally, though we should do so in prose, the distinction between paragraph and paragraph. This, however, is merely a question of translation, and has nothing to do with any intention of the writer to give to the expression of his thought any further artistic form beyond the distich with its rhythm and parallelism. But we may fairly detect the intention of the writer to submit to such further artistic form, if we find, though his poem contains no refrain

and is fitted to no alphabetic scheme, that the greater sense-divisions occur throughout the poem *at regular intervals*. But this raises the further important question : What are regular intervals ? How ought the paragraphs to be measured ? By lines ? or by distichs ? How are tristichs to be treated if they interchange irregularly with distichs ? In discussions of strophe, Psalm ii. has often been selected as a clear example of regular strophic structure ; and so it is, if we count by Massoretic verses. The articulation of the poem is perfectly clear ; the greater sense-divisions occur, and are correctly indicated in the Revised Version by the spacing, at the end of every third verse. But the author of Psalm ii. was certainly innocent of the Massoretic verse-division, and of this mode of counting. Now, if we count by lines the four parts are not equal, for while the first, third, and fourth parts contain each seven lines, the second contains only six. If we count by distichs and assume that a tristich was a legitimate substitute for a distich, the poem falls into four well-marked sense-divisions, each containing three distichs (or tristichs).

I will not here examine this aspect of the question in further detail, but merely record my opinion that groups of two, three, four, and occasionally, as in Isaiah ix. 7–x. 4, of a larger number of distichs, occur in many poems with such exact or approximate regularity as to make

it probable that the writer deliberately planned and carried out this division into *equal* verse-paragraphs or strophes.

But if a writer might deliberately distribute his poem into equal strophes, might he not also distribute it into unequal strophes ? The occurrence in some poems of a refrain at unequal intervals might seem to indicate that he did. Yet even this is doubtful : the regular recurrence of *equal* sections in any considerable poem cannot easily be attributed to accident ; on the other hand, sections of unequal length are precisely what would naturally result from a writer expressing his thought free from any further restraint beyond that imposed by the distich : unless, therefore, we can detect some method in the irregularity, poems in which the greater sense-divisions, though well marked, consist of a varying number of distichs must be considered to have been written free from the restraint of any strophic law ; in this case, if we use the term strophe, it must mean simply a verse-paragraph of indeterminate length uncontrolled by any formal artistic scheme.

Attempts have from time to time been made, however, to discover method in the irregularity of poems divided into unequal paragraphs, and so to make good the claim that strophe is as constant as parallelism. Köster, in the year 1831, first offered an elaborate examination of

the Hebrew strophe ; [1] he reached the conclusion that parallelism of verses is as regular as parallelism of lines, and consequently that all Hebrew poetry is more or less strophic in nature. The " more or less " is an important saving clause ; but a still more important one follows, and this secures Köster's accuracy of observation at the expense of his theory ; he claims that no one can point to any poetical passage of the Old Testament which does not, *within the same degree of license that is permitted in parallelism within the distich*, follow to some extent a symmetrical plan. But since Köster has previously admitted that the parallelism between verse-groups is generally synthetic, and since, as I have maintained, synthetic parallelism is really not parallelism, all that Köster succeeds in maintaining is that in every Hebrew poem there is between verse-groups a parallelism that is generally of the type that is, strictly speaking, not parallelism at all. And this is only a roundabout way of saying that in Hebrew poems there are greater sense-divisions than those of the successive single distichs ; and this, as I have suggested above, though scarcely true of all, is true of very many Hebrew poems.

One other point in Köster's discussion may be briefly indicated : in some of his specimens he

[1] " Die Strophen, oder der Parallelismus der Verse der hebräischen Poesie untersucht " in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, vol. iv.

claims that the sense-divisions, though not equal, are regularly or symmetrically unequal; he claims, for example, that Psalm xxvii. divided according to the main sense-divisions falls into two groups of three (Massoretic) verses each, followed by two groups of four verses each, the scheme being accordingly 3+3+4+4. This kind of hypothetically intentional scheme was later discovered everywhere by D. H. Müller, who is the author of perhaps the most extensive work on the strophe in Hebrew poetry;[1] Müller also claimed to be able to find not only symmetrical inequality in the verse-groups, but also repetition of the same words in corresponding positions of such verse-groups, as, for example, in the second lines of the first and fourth verse-groups, or in the first and last lines of the same verse-group. Such symmetrical arrangements and correspondences would remain as impressive as are the remarkable arithmetical formulae by means of which Müller claimed to represent them, if on examination these formulae proved to rest on any exact and probable basis of calculation. What is all-important for such schemes to be anything more than the self-delusions of a modern student is that the unit of reckoning should be clearly defined and consistently maintained; and this neither with Köster nor Müller is the case. The

[1] *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (1895); *Strophenbau und Responsion* (1898). For a severe criticism of Müller's and kindred theories, see Ed. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, pp. 347 ff.

Massoretic verse not only rests on a division of the text made long subsequent to the composition and writing of the poems, but it is anything but a clear and consistent unit, for it consists sometimes of a single line, oftenest of a single distich or tristich, but not infrequently of two or more distichs. Yet the Massoretic verse is made the basis of Köster's reckoning, with the result that the symmetrical formulae $3+3+4+4$ can have no relation to any intention of the author of Psalm xxvii.; and any scheme based either on the line or on the distich as the unit would give a different and much less remarkable result.

Müller avoids the error of making the Massoretic verse the unit of reckoning, but he is not constant to any single real unit. König[1] has sufficiently criticised Müller's strophic division of Amos i. 2–ii. 5. I select here as another example of the arithmetical symmetry of Müller's formulae and the unreality which they express his treatment of Amos iv. According to Müller this chapter opens and closes with a strophe of 8 lines; between the initial and final strophes are strophes consisting successively of 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 lines, and the arithmetical formula given for the whole poem is $8+(8\times2)+8$. This looks symmetrical enough, but how is it obtained? Müller divides the chapter as follows :—

[1] *Stilistik*, p. 348.

vv.	1-3	said to contain	8	lines.	
	4-6	„ „	5	lines and	a refrain.
	7-8	„ „	4	„	„
	10	„ „	3	„	„
	9	„ „	2	„	„
	11	„ „	1	„	„
	12, 13	„ „	8	lines.	

It will be observed (1) that *vv.* 10 and 9 are transposed to secure the exact arithmetical progression; (2) that $5+4+3+2+1$ only amount to 15, while if we add to this all five occurrences of the refrain the sum is 20; but neither 15 nor 20 is a multiple of eight; so the symmetrical figure $16=8\times2$ is obtained by reckoning five occurrences of the refrain as one line only! But this is only part of the capriciousness that underlies the formula. When we examine the "lines" we find some to be true lines, while others are a large number of Hebrew words constituting, or consisting of a quantity equivalent to, at least a distich. In verse 9,

הכיתי אתכם בשדפון וירקון

I have smitten you with blasting and mildew,

is reckoned a single line, but in verse 11, which the arithmetical progression requires shall contain one line and no more, this *single* "line" consists of הפכתי בכם כמהפכת אלהים את סדם ואת עמרה ותהיו נאיד מוצל משרפה, "I have overthrown some among you as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah,

and ye were as a brand plucked out of the burning," which is somewhat more in quantity than הרגתי בחרב בחוריכם עם שבי סוסיכם ואעלה באש מחניכם ובאפכם, "I have slain your young men with the sword together with your captive horses, and I have made the stink of your camps to come up into your nostrils" (v. 10), which counts, and with good reason, as *two* lines!

With the breakdown of the arithmetical part of Müller's scheme there breaks down also the significance of the correspondences. In strictly measured sections it might be significant of intention if the same word should occur, say, in the first line and the last of two corresponding sections; but as soon as the measurement ceases to be exact the mere recurrence within a few lines of such frequently recurring words as Yahweh becomes entirely insignificant.

There may be here and there a certain artifice in the repetition at given intervals of particular words, and to such an artifice is probably to be attributed the almost regular recurrence, even in the present text of Psalm cxix., of the same eight different words for law; but such artifices are scarcely more frequent than the use of alphabetic schemes, and have just as little power to create real strophes or verse-paragraphs.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEARING OF CERTAIN METRICAL THEORIES ON CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION

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HITHERTO our discussion has been confined to the forms of *parallelistic* poetry. I have endeavoured to keep, as they should be kept, distinct, the two forms, parallelism and rhythm, while pointing out the intimate connexion that often exists between them. Yet that connexion is not so intimate but that either form *may* exist apart, even in literatures that employ both. Arabic "rhymed prose," which is not bound by the strict laws of Arabic metre, often employs parallelism as freely as any Hebrew poem;[1] on the other hand much of the strictly metrical Arabic poetry is totally lacking or exceedingly deficient in parallelism,[1] and few Hebrew poems maintain complete parallelism throughout.[2] If it is customary, as it certainly seems to be, for non-parallel couplets in a Hebrew poem to fall into the same rhythm as the parallel couplets,

[1] See above, pp. 40-43.

[2] See above, pp. 59 ff.

can a Hebrew poem entirely dispense with strict parallelism? We cannot rule this out as impossible, nor should we be wise to treat it as very improbable; but, even if parallelism were entirely absent, a very essential characteristic of the poetry would still remain, if it continued to be parallelistic throughout, in spite of the total absence of parallelism of terms.

But the question has recently been forced to the front: Is there a Hebrew rhythmical poetry that dispenses not only with parallelism, but also with the parallelistic structure that is an essential characteristic of all the Hebrew poetry of which we have yet taken account?

Lowth, by his analysis of parallelism, brought to light the fact that this parallelism was as conspicuous in much of the prophetic writings as in Psalms or Job: he thus extended the then recognised boundaries of what is poetry in the Old Testament. By his analysis of rhythm Sievers claims to have carried this extension of the still generally recognised boundaries of Old Testament poetry very much further: what, till the publication of his first work on Hebrew metre,[1] had been universally regarded as prose has under his hands come to wear the appearance of regular metrical composition; he has detected

[1] E. Sievers, "Metrische Studien," i. "Studien zur hebräischen Metrik" in the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xxi. (1901). See especially ch. x. pp. 871 ff.

in it some of the same types of rhythm (yet with a difference) that occur in books or passages of the Old Testament generally recognised to be poetry, and also some types or rather some combinations of types of rhythm that are not found there, but are yet no less strictly rhythmical than the rest.

Lowth's discovery that the prophetic writings were in large part poems could not but have had, and has actually had, a very considerable effect on the criticism, in the broadest sense of that term, of those writings, on our conceptions of their inspiration, origin, composition, and interpretation. Just as little, if they succeed in establishing themselves, can Sievers' theories of the rhythmical forms of the books of Genesis and Samuel, two books which he has subjected to an exhaustive metrical analysis,[1] fail to affect the criticism of these books and others of the same general character. For this reason I propose to give some account of Sievers' theory of the metres of Genesis, to suggest certain objections, and to indicate one possible result that follows. After that I will return to the consideration of the parallelistic poetry and consider the legitimacy of certain theories of its rhythm. I refer more particularly to Duhm's theories, which have exercised very considerable influence not only

[1] E. Sievers, "Metrische Studien," ii. "Die hebräische Genesis"; iii. "Samuel" (*Abhandlungen . . .*, xxiii.).

in Germany but also in this country, where the results of the theories are beginning to be presented uncriticised even in books intended for popular use.[1] Sievers' developed theory of the metrical character of the texts commonly supposed to be prose has not, I think, yet commanded much assent,[2] but this working out of his theory must obviously affect in some measure any judgment as to the soundness of its fundamental principles. An examination of these two influential, or potentially influential, theories, will furnish a number of illustrations of the way in which theories with regard to the forms of Hebrew poetry may affect the criticism and interpretation of Hebrew literature.

In his first volume (pp. 397 ff.) Sievers, in order to test the rhythmical character of simple narrative style, examined the inscription of

[1] See *e.g.* M. G. Glazebrook, *Studies in the Book of Isaiah*; B. Duhm, *The Minor Prophets translated in the Rhythms of the Original* (English translation by A. Duff).

[2] O. Proksch, however, in his recently published commentary, *Die Genesis übersetzt u. erklärt*, 1913, gives a general adherence to Sievers' theory, though frequently and greatly differing from him in the detailed application of it. In illustration of these differences, I quote a sentence or two from my review of the commentary in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, ix. 200-204: "Proksch divides Gen. iii. 1-19 into 32 metrical units, all seven-stress lines: Sievers divides the same passage into 33 metrical units, of which 27 are seven-stress lines, the others examples of various rhythms. Considerably less than half of Proksch's 'sevens' are identical with Sievers' 'sevens': to be exact, 12 of Proksch's lines are identical with Sievers', and 20 are not. Even more remarkable is the difference in xxix. 2-14a. Here both Proksch and Sievers agree that we have a continuous use of 'sevens' throughout the passage; nevertheless not a single one of Proksch's first fifteen lines is identical with one of Sievers'."

Mesha, selecting this as an ancient text that had not been subjected to accidents of transcription. He analysed it into 37 rhythmical periods, claiming that "the metrical structure" of this poem was all the easier to seize, and the better secured, by the fact that the ends of the verses were marked by a vertical line, which was but rarely used to indicate a mere pause within the verse. If it were certain that the vertical line used in Mesha's inscription was really intended to mark off *metrical* periods, the fact would be of the utmost importance; for, if the Moabite king recorded his exploits in metre, and used this line to make the metre clear, a strong presumption would be created that Judges, Samuel, and Kings, large parts of which closely resemble the Moabite inscription in style, were also originally in large part metrical; and the use of this line might be expected to cast even more direct light on Hebrew than the marking of the scansion in the Assyrian inscription to which I have previously referred.[1] But that the vertical line in Mesha's inscription has a metrical significance is anything but clear: what is certain is that it occurs at places where *punctuation* is required, generally a full stop, more rarely a semicolon, or a comma. Thus the line occurs twenty-five times at points where Dr. Cooke[2] in his translation punctuates with a full

[1] See above, pp. 140 ff.

[2] G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 2-4.

stop, five times where he punctuates with a semicolon, three times where he punctuates with a comma. In three other places the line occurs where the inscription cannot be clearly read. Even in the three cases where the line corresponds to a comma, the pause is considerable, *e.g.* in line 7, "I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, and all Israel perished utterly for ever." We may compare with this the relation of the line to Sievers' metrical periods: it occurs at the end of twenty-eight out of thirty-seven of these, and thrice in the middle of one of them. Inasmuch as Sievers' periods are made to end with a real pause in the sense and are not "run on" lines, it would be inevitable that a mark of punctuation should generally stand at the end of them; but the absence of the mark at the end of nine of his periods is much more unfavourable to the theory that the mark has a metrical significance than its presence at the end of twenty-eight is favourable; for there may well have been difference of opinion among Moabite, as there notoriously is among English, writers as to the frequency with which punctuation should be expressed; there could have been none as to the point at which a metrical period ended. It is also to be observed that according to Sievers' metrical analysis, the metrical periods in the inscription are of five different lengths—of three, four, five, six, and seven stresses; and

that more than two successive periods of the same length never occur, and often immediately contiguous periods are of different lengths.

We pass now to the consideration of Sievers' *Hebrew Genesis Rhythmically Arranged* (1904–1905). As compared with his analysis, contained in the first volume of his metrical studies, of Mesha's inscription and a few specimens of Hebrew narratives, viz. Genesis ii., xli., Judges ix., Ruth i., Job i., ii., Sievers' treatment of Genesis shows two prominent differences: (1) he has abandoned the attempt to make the metrical periods and the sense-periods coincide: if he is correct in regarding Genesis as metrical, then the distinguishing feature of this narrative poetry is that it largely consists of "run-on" lines; (2) the same metre is discovered running uninterruptedly through long consecutive passages.

The rhythms alleged to be of most frequent occurrence are (1) the six-stress period; (2) the seven-stress period—the rhythm which, as we have seen (pp. 173 ff.), probably occurs in Psalms ix., x., but is rare in what have commonly been regarded as the poetical parts of the Old Testament. With these two simple rhythms, as we may call them, though the term is not employed by Sievers himself, there alternate the more complex rhythms produced by the *constant* alternation with one of these of a shorter period, viz. (3) sevens alternating with a short verse of three

or four stresses: *e.g.* Genesis ix. 1-4 (P), xxvi. 1-13; (4) sixes alternating with a short verse of three or four stresses: *e.g.* Genesis xxvi. 14, 15.

Of these rhythms the simple sevens is by far the most frequent: long passages in which Sievers discovers it are, for example, Genesis i., *i.e.* P's account of creation; xi. 1-9, J's account of the building of the tower of Babel; xxiv., J's account of Eliezer's mission to find Isaac a wife.

The same rhythm, it will be seen, occurs in more than one of the main sources discovered by literary criticism. This is not regarded by Sievers as an argument against the general validity of that criticism; quite the reverse: he finds his metrical analysis constantly confirming it, and also furnishing a clue through a labyrinth with which criticism was already familiar, but through which it had hitherto failed to find a way. The compositeness of J, E, and P has been very commonly admitted, but the attempt to analyse these sources into yet earlier sources has hitherto led to but relatively meagre or insecure results. Sievers claims through metre to lead us to a detailed and secure analysis of these sources of J, E, and P. As this promise of valuable assistance in the analysis of sources is made not by some amateur in the study of metre, but by a great and recognised master of the subject, Sievers' *Genesis*, if for no

other reason, might well claim the attention of critical students of the Old Testament.

Briefly stated Sievers' conclusions with reference to the sources are these: J, E, and P were not derived direct from free oral tradition, but one and all from *earlier literary sources which were metrical*. These earlier sources can be recovered by observing the changes of metre within the present text. J rests on four principal sources, a source written in seven-stress periods, another in six-stress periods, another in seven-stress periods alternating with a short verse, and a fourth in six-stress periods alternating with a short verse. J also contains fragments of a source written in four-stress periods. E rests on three main sources, one written in sevens, one in sixes, and one in sixes alternating with a short verse. P is analysed into six sources; the main source is written in sevens; the other sources include one written in sixes, one in sevens alternating with a short verse, and another in which every two seven-stress periods are followed by a short verse. The main source in simple sevens admitted of an *occasional* short verse.

It is difficult to judge of this complicated theory from passages where there is much mixture of J, E, and P, or of Sievers' sources of these sources. It is better to take what appears even to Sievers to be a long continuous passage from a single source, and to see by what means and

with what results the theory is carried through. Genesis xxiii., which Sievers with every one else refers to P, and he in particular to his "sevens" source of P, may serve as the first illustration.

In this chapter Sievers discovers twenty-eight periods of seven stresses and three short verses of three stresses. The three latter are obtained without any textual change from the present Hebrew text; of the twenty-eight longer periods, sixteen are obtained from the present text, the remaining twelve rest on alterations of the Hebrew text which, it is claimed, remove transcriptional error and the results of the more frequent disturbing activity of editors who both changed and added words. In three of these twelve cases the LXX more or less clearly supports the change; in another Sievers makes both an addition and an omission which metrically cancel one another. More or less can doubtless be said for several of the alterations[1] requisite to reduce the remaining eight lines to regularity; but that all the changes are required by anything but the exigencies of the metrical theory will seem to most who examine them improbable.

In Genesis xxiv. 1-52 (J) Sievers finds eighty seven-stress periods interrupted by eight glosses

[1] In *v.* 6 Sievers omits אלהים, regarding נשיא אלהים as an editorial amplification of נשיא: at the end of *v.* 7 he omits לבני חת, and in *v.* 8 מלפני; in *v.* 9 he substitutes המערה for מערת המכפלה אשר לו; in *v.* 15 he omits ארץ (with LXX) and שקל; in *v.* 16 שקל and לסחר; in *v.* 17 the clause שדה עפרון אשר במכפלה אשר לפני ממרא; in *v.* 19 he omits אכרהם, inserts עפרון אשר, and alters המכפלה to במכפלה.

of from three to nine words, and another line of different rhythm. Of the eighty seven-stress lines, twenty-two depend on departures from the present text; but several consecutive seven-stress lines [1] are discovered without any alteration of the Hebrew text.

As a last example of Sievers' metrical analysis I select Genesis i. on account of the peculiar interest of the reconstruction of the text involved in it: at the same time it is right to add that Sievers expressly states that his analysis of this particular chapter is one of the most uncertain and tentative of his results. According to the analysis the chapter contained forty-nine seven-stress periods interrupted by one line (in *v.* 20) of three stresses and by what is regarded as a gloss of two lines in *v.* 16. Of the forty-nine seven-stress periods no fewer than thirty-two rest on textual alteration—a far larger proportion than in either of the previous examples that have been given here. But a large number of the textual changes are of one type: in order to obtain rhythmical regularity Sievers found that, in every case where אלהים, *God*, occurred, rhythm required either one word less or one word more: in the former case he omits אלהים, in the latter he prefixes יהוה, *Yahweh*; so that in respect of the use of the divine names, Genesis i.

[1] *E.g.* eight such lines occur in *v.* 42 (from אם ישך) to *v.* 46 (to שחה); seven such lines in *v.* 47 (from בת־מי) to *v.* 51.

would agree with the present text of Genesis ii., iii., though not, according to Sievers, with the original text of all the sources incorporated in ii. and iii.

It would be unwise to condemn the whole of Sievers' analysis of Genesis on account of the improbably large amount of conjectural emendation needed to carry through the rhythmical reconstruction in Genesis i. and some other passages : the strength of his case is seen rather in such facts as that, for example, in chapter xxiv. eight *consecutive* similar rhythmical periods may be found *in the present text.*

Nevertheless Sievers' results in general seem to me insecure, and their insecurity due to these considerations : (1) the vocalisation on which they depend is, as I have pointed out in a previous chapter,[1] hypothetical, some elements in it being probable, others most uncertain ; (2) the number of conjectural emendations required solely in the interests of the theory is very large ; (3) the analysis of narratives in Genesis and Samuel requires a constant recurrence of " non-stop " lines and enjambed clauses. Not only are the lines " non-stopped," so that, *e.g.*, a verb may stand at the end of one, its accusative at the beginning of the next line, but the well-marked caesuras within the lines, so prominent in the parallelistic poetry, frequently disappear, while

[1] See above, pp. 147-149.

in others a full-stop may appear at the caesura and virtually no stop at all at the end of the line. Sievers, it is true, still points his "sevens" with spaces for the two caesuras, but the space frequently divides construct and genitive, or other words as closely connected with one another. Two lines at the beginning of Genesis xxiii. may serve as examples of the points just referred to; I add a translation to bring out the striking difference between this kind of metrical composition, if it be such, and parallelistic poems:

וידיו שני	חיי שרה	מאה ועשרים שנה
ושבע שנים	ותמת שרה	בקריית ארבע הוא חברון
And were the years	of the life of Sarah	one hundred and twenty years
And seven years.	And Sarah died	in Kirjath-Arba, which is Hebron.

And in the following lines from Genesis i., as reconstructed by Sievers, a full-stop occurs in the middle of the first line, though the same line ends with a verb the accusative to which begins the second line:

	וירא יהוה אלהים	ידי אור וידי אור
	ויבדל יהוה אלהים	את־האור כי־טוב
Let there be light:	and there was light.	And Yahweh Elohim saw
The light that it was good.	And divided Yahweh	Elohim between the light and the darkness.

Now no doubt there can be found analogies

to most of these phenomena in English blank verse: but there remains this surely relevant and fundamental difference between English and Hebrew poetry: the foot in Hebrew, according to Sievers' theory, is much more elastic than the foot in English blank verse: the Hebrew foot, it will be remembered, consists, according to the theory, of a stressed syllable either by itself, or preceded by one to three unstressed syllables, and in certain cases followed by one but not more than one unstressed syllable; briefly, whereas the foot in English blank verse is dissyllabic, or by resolution trisyllabic, the foot in Hebrew may consist of one, two, three, four, or five syllables. There is a further point: Hebrew, as contrasted with English, has far fewer prepositions, conjunctions, and other short independent words unlikely to be stressed: the consequence is that any passage in Hebrew must consist most largely of words that can quite appropriately receive a stress: if then a rhythmical line consists of so many stressed syllables combined with a very elastic number of unstressed syllables, and is subject to no other law such as that of the stopped lines and the distich, it becomes almost impossible for any passage not to be rhythmical. For the number of the words in any or almost any passage will divide either by 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 with, if necessary, a few words at the end, to appear as a broken line. To what other law,

then, does Sievers conceive his lines to be subjected? It is difficult to discover any, though it is obvious that he still *prefers* that his caesuras and line-ends should coincide with some sense-pause if possible, and this apparently is why he distributes his texts among several metres, though if we utterly disregard sense-pauses, and allow ourselves an equal liberty of textual emendation, most of the lines could be redivided into blocks of a different number of feet. It appears to me, therefore, that the analogy of English blank verse with its freedom from line-bondage is a bad ground for assuming a similar free epic or narrative verse in Hebrew: the analogy of Semitic poetry is against the assumption: and we seem driven back on to the stopped line and the distich as the normal basis of Hebrew poetry of all kinds.

There remains one further consideration: it is brought forward by Sievers himself, and he attempts to turn the force of it: the redactors and interpolators who often, by their additions, destroyed the metre of their sources, themselves wrote in metre; the glosses attributed to them are for the most part "metrical." "I cannot," writes Sievers,[1] "otherwise account for this than by the supposition that in a period not yet accustomed to free prose the tendency to bring everything that had to be said into verse form

[1] *Die hebräische Genesis*, p. 216.

may have been so strong that such redactors involuntarily composed verses when the extent and substance of what they wanted to say in any way permitted of this. At the same time they had so little artistic intelligence or experience that they thrust their own products of a moment unconcerned into the older texts without troubling much about the mess (*Unheil*) they thus made of them."

In view of the various considerations which I have now brought forward I am not prepared, on the one hand, to admit the metrical analysis of Genesis as confirming the analysis into J, E, and P, nor, on the other hand, out of regard for hypothetical metrical requirements, to insert Yahweh in Genesis i., and thereby abandon the well-grounded conclusion that P made no use of the divine name Yahweh in his narrative, till he reached the point at which he records the revelation of the name to Moses.

But though the theory that the *whole* of Genesis is derived from metrical sources must be dismissed as unproved, the question yet remains whether, in addition to such obvious poems as Lamech's song (Gen. iv. 23, 24) and Jacob's Blessing (xlix. 1-27), traces can still be discerned, within or behind the narratives, of *any* metrical passages or sources. And here we may first observe that certain speeches introduced into the narratives differ in style from the prose of the narratives themselves, in virtue of some use of

parallelism or some approximation, even in the present stage of the text, to rhythms familiar from their occurrence in what are generally recognised to be poems. Such speeches are the curses pronounced by Yahweh on Adam and Eve and the serpent (Gen. iii. 14-19), the blessings pronounced by Isaac on Jacob and Esau (xxvii. 27-29, 39, 40), and Jacob's speech to Laban (xxxi. 36-42). To justify the statement that these show some use of parallelism and some approximation to metre, let it suffice to point out that the closing words of the curse on the serpent form, as a matter of fact, an unmistakable distich 3 : 3, the lines of which are completely parallel to one another (a . b . c | a′ . b′ . c′); that Isaac's blessing on Jacob closes with three distichs in each of which the lines are completely parallel to one another, the schemes being a . b | a′ . b′, a2 . b | a′. b′2, and a . b | a′. b′; and that xxxi. 38 b, c is a perfectly clear example of a distich 3 : 3 with the lines completely parallel to one another (a2 . b | a′2 . b′). Yet in none of the passages quoted is it possible to discern in the present text metrical regularity. Such metrical regularity can be obtained with least alteration of the present text in the curse on the serpent. If we omit in *v.* 14 the words מכל הבהמה ו, *of all cattle and* — an omission which was originally suggested by Stade[1] quite irrespective of metrical

[1] In the *Zeitschr. für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xvii. 209.

considerations—and in *v.* 15 the words ובין זרעך, *and between thy seed*,[1] and if, with Sievers, we are prepared to include ואיבה אשית under a single accent, we have left four successive six-stress periods, the first three being divided into three two-stress lines, the last into two three-stress lines, a method of varying the treatment of six-stress periods within the same poem that has already been referred to (p. 182, n. 2). With the two omissions just defined the Hebrew text and English translation read as follows :

כי־עשית זאת | ארור אתה | מכל־חית השדה
על גחנך תלך | ועפר תאכל | כל־ימי חייך
ואיבה־אשית בינך | ובין האשה | ובין זרעה
הוא ישופך ראש | ואתה תשופנו עקב

Because thou hast done this,
Cursed art thou
Above all the beasts of the field ;
On thy belly shalt thou go,
And dust shalt thou eat,
All the days of thy life ;
And enmity will I put between thee
And between the woman,
And between her seed :
He shall crush thee on the head,
And thou shalt crush him on the heel.

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[1] For the omission of these words there is little, if anything, to be urged apart from metrical considerations. It is true that the last lines contrast the woman's seed and "thee," *i.e.* the serpent, and take no account of "thy seed" : but *per contra* they refer only to the woman's seed and do not mention the woman independently. With the threefold repetition of בין in the emended text, cp. Gen. xvii. 7, והקימתי את בריתי ביני ובינך ובין זרעך ; but in this passage the addition of ובין זרעי to ביני would of course have been impossible.

We seem to be left, then, with these alternatives—that certain speeches, especially curses and blessings, were originally metrical, but that their metrical character has been destroyed or obscured by additions and alterations, or that the speeches in question, while differentiated from the simplicity of the prose of ordinary narrative, were not subjected to regular metrical form. In favour of the first alternative, so far at least as the curses and blessings are concerned, is the fact that the blessings of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), Moses (Deut. xxxiii.), Balaam (Num. xxiii., xxiv.) are all unmistakable poems, and that an important function of the early Arab poets was to compose and recite curses.[1] At the same time most of the passages cited are in their present form considerably removed from metrical regularity.

Even if, however, we admit that the speeches referred to in the last paragraph are metrical, they could reasonably be explained as instances of the same writer passing from the prose of narrative to poetical form in the speeches of the persons of his story—a transition which is clearly

[1] See particularly I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, "Über die Vorgeschichte der Hiğâ' Poesie," referred to and briefly described in my note on Num. xxii. 6 (*Commentary on Numbers*, p. 328). See further G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (1914), pp. 92 ff., 120 f., where examples are given. It must be observed, however, that many of these early curses are not composed in the classical Arabic metres, but in *saj'* (see above, p. 44 f.); an example of a curse in this "rhymed prose" is Sura cxi. of the *Ḳur'ân*.

marked and obvious in the book of Job, unless prologue and speeches are there referred to different writers.

But a rather different question arises when we turn to the narratives of Creation; for here we shall find ourselves dealing not with differences between narrative and speeches, but with a question of differences between different parts of what is alike narrative. The question we have to put here is this: Are these narratives in their present form, or do they rest on Hebrew sources that were, entirely prose? or are there sufficient traces of rhythm even now left to suggest that these narratives rest in part at least on Hebrew sources that were written in poetical form? If the narratives are prose, and if the sources on which they rested were also all prose, then, although the Hebrew *story* of Creation shows the well-known resemblances to the Babylonian *story*, the literary form given to the story by the Hebrews was at all times different: it was prose, whereas the Babylonian story was told in verse. And even if Sievers were right, and the whole of the Creation narratives in Genesis were metrical, there would still be a difference; the Babylonian poems are cast in the old parallelistic 4 : 4 rhythm, the Hebrew narratives, according to the hypothesis, mainly in Sievers' non-parallelistic "sevens." But Sievers has also drawn attention, and this time

I think rightly, to the appearance in small quantity of the 4 : 4 rhythm in Genesis ii. : he recognised more of it in the first volume of his metrical studies than in *Die hebräische Genesis*, and his earlier is perhaps preferable to his later view. Delete the superfluous אלהים after יהוה in Genesis ii. 4 b, and it is a fact that ii. 4 b-6 can easily, and most of it must, be read as periods of four stresses equally divided by a slight caesura, as follows :

ביום עשות־יהוה ארץ ושמים
וכל שיח־השדה טרם יהיה־בארץ
וכל עשב־חשדה טרם יצמח
כי־לא המטיר יהוה על־הארץ
ואדם אין לעבד את־האדמה

In the day when Yahweh made heaven and earth,
No plant of the field was yet in the earth,
And no herb of the field had yet sprung up ;
For Yahweh had not sent rain upon the earth,
And man there was none to till the ground.

Not only is this *possibly* metrical, but (1) the second and third, and in some measure the fourth and fifth lines, are certainly parallels ; (2) the hypothetically metrical periods are certainly sense-periods ; (3) the anarthrous ארץ ושמים without את stands in striking contrast to the את השמים ואת הארץ of Genesis i. 1. Not only, then, have the lines of the Hebrew,

No plant of the field was yet in the earth,
And no herb of the field had yet sprung up,

a close material parallel in the Babylonian,

No reed had sprung up, no tree had been created,

but the rhythm of the Hebrew, if correctly seized as 4 : 4 (=2+2 : 2+2), is identical with the rhythm of the Babylonian.

I cannot here pursue the remaining traces, for the most part less clear, of the same rhythm in subsequent parts of the chapter, and still less the various interesting questions which are raised by this apparent formal as well as material resemblance of some of the Hebrew with some of the Babylonian stories of Creation; but the probability that behind Genesis ii. lay at least one Hebrew metrical story of Creation seems to me sufficiently strong to be worth consideration.

If Genesis ii. 4 b-6 is metrical, it is an example not of the hypothetical non-parallelistic metrical poetry which Sievers finds everywhere in Genesis and Samuel, but of that same parallelistic poetry which has so long been recognised in Psalms and Job and much of the prophetical books. But if Sievers' theory that the narratives of Genesis are metrical is rightly judged to be unproven and improbable, ought we at this end of our discussion to question the *metrical* character even of parallelistic poetry; was Hebrew poetry of any kind subject to metrical laws? Have we a right to adopt such a system as Sievers' to explain the metre of parallelistic poetry, and then to deny

the soundness of his application of his system to Hebrew narratives ?

It must suffice at this point to recall some positions previously reached : in parallelistic poetry the lines are in general well defined, and where there is much parallelism of terms the limits of the lines are certain ; to secure a rhythmical balance, or other relation, which would be immediately perceived between these parallel lines, a far greater elasticity could safely be given to the rhythmical foot than if a really perceptible rhythm were to be imparted to a long passage in which there were no regularly recurring pauses. Even after an examination of Sievers' attempt to extend so greatly the amount of metrical composition in the Old Testament, it seems to me possible and useful to return to parallelistic poetry and to insist (1) that this consists primarily of distichs ; (2) that these distichs fall into two broad classes according as the second line balances or echoes the first ; and (3) that the lines of these distichs can also be more accurately classified according to the number of the stressed words that they contain.

The uncertainties in dealing with parallelistic poetry arise rather when we raise these questions : Must a single type of distich be maintained throughout the same poem ? if not, what types and what extent of variation are permitted ? Again, are all poems strophically arranged, and

are all strophes of equal length? I have already given my reasons for answering these questions in the sense that the laws of Hebrew poetry did not require either that a single type of distich must be used throughout the same poem, or that all poems must be divided into equal strophes: and that as a matter of fact some Hebrew poems are perfectly, or nearly, consistent in the use of a single type of distich and strophes of the same length, and that others are not. But the contrary opinion is held and enforced with far-reaching critical results: single words are rejected from lines in order to reduce all the distichs to a single type, and whole distichs in order to reduce all the strophes to the same length. More rarely equality is restored or invented by addition of words or distichs. Dr. Briggs in his commentary on the Psalms so emended the text that most of the Psalms divide into exactly equal strophes, strophes that each contain exactly the same number of lines, distichs, or tristichs as the case may be. Duhm has done much the same for Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve Prophets, not to speak of his work on Psalms and Job. I am, of course, far from maintaining that either these scholars, or others with the same devotion to regularity, have failed to put forward many valuable suggestions: if some poems, though not all, were regular, a scholar who attempts to make all regular may succeed in divining the real

regularity of those that were regular at the same time that he is imposing an unreal regularity on a poem that never was actually regular.

In illustration of the far-reaching effects of the determination to impose regularity at all hazards on all poems, I will now confine myself to some examples of Duhm's methods and results. I premise that there is a far stronger *prima facie* case for questioning the originality of the text of the books with which Duhm deals than that of the book of Genesis; and that there is far more reason in the case of these books than in Samuel for suspecting that even the LXX fails as a sufficient corrective of the Hebrew text; so far then an editor of the prophets or of Job or of many of the Psalms ought to suspect more corruption which must be treated, if treated at all, by conjecture, than an editor of Genesis or Samuel. But there is need for the greatest possible caution in using a metrical theory as the sole reason for emendation; for one Hebrew metre can be changed into another with fatal ease; drop the verb, or some other parallel term that the sense will spare from the second line of a 3 : 3 distich, and the result is the very dissimilar 3 : 2; and, conversely, in a 3 : 2 distich prefix an infinitive absolute to the verb of the second line, and a distich 3 : 3 is the result. For example Isaiah xiii. 11 c, d,

והשבתי גאון זדים
וגאות עריצים אשפיל

And I will make the pride of the presumptuous cease,
And the haughtiness of the awe-inspiring will I bring low,

is as it stands an excellent 3 : 3 distich of completely parallel lines; it can be very simply reduced to a distich of 3 : 2 lines incompletely parallel by omitting, with Duhm, the overlined word. But what is the probability that the conversion of one metre into another would take place accidentally several times in the same poem without affecting the sense? Or what the probability that a scribe would intentionally convert 3 : 2 into 3 : 3 by such additions in some distichs of the poem, while leaving others in the original 3 : 2?

If the ease with which every Hebrew text can in some manner be adapted to Sievers' anapaestic system should make us slow to accept such applications of it as his metrical analysis of Genesis, the ease with which, if we treat the rhythm merely as so many stresses to a line, one metre can be converted to another should warn us against the seductive regularity which Duhm places, for example, upon Isaiah xiii. This chapter, says Mr. Box, who, in common with some other English scholars, reproduces Duhm's assertions, consists of seven-lined strophes in the rhythm of the Hebrew dirge; and in this resembles the poem in chap. xiv. Yet it is

really difficult to believe that any one could have reached this conclusion except under the dominance of a theory of regularity or the spell of a great master; and the false conclusion here happens to be of some critical significance, for, if Isaiah xiii. consists of six seven-lined strophes in *ḳinah* rhythm, and chapter xiv. contains a poem consisting of five exactly similar strophes, confidence in the unity of xiii. and xiv. may receive an utterly untrustworthy support. The actual fact with regard to Isaiah xiii., as I have shown elsewhere,[1] is that the *ḳinah* rhythm is all but confined to the first eight verses of the chapter, and in the remaining fourteen verses, which contain twenty-five distichs, there are but three or four distichs at most of the *ḳinah* type: the rest are 3 : 3; Duhm reduces these 3 : 3 distichs to 3 : 2 by two exceedingly simple devices: either a word is arbitrarily dropped from the second line of the distich, or, if this is not convenient, it is *assumed* that the second and shorter line of a 3 : 2 distich has dropped out. Corruptions of both kinds certainly occur; but it is exceedingly improbable that accidents of the same kind happened several times over within a few verses and yet so as to leave excellent 3 : 3 rhythm.

Another passage where difficult critical questions arise has been similarly treated by Duhm.

[1] *Isaiah*, pp. 234 ff.

He asserts that in Isaiah xxxiv., xxxv. the same metre is maintained throughout, and he represents the whole as disposed in four-lined strophes; but he also makes this significant remark: "The text has suffered a remarkable number of mutilations, especially at the ends of the *stichoi*." Yet as a matter of fact the metre is not the same throughout: some of the distichs are certainly 3 : 2, most are certainly 3 : 3, but, just as in xiii., xiv., the 3 : 2 distichs are massed together; they are almost confined to xxxiv. 1-10. A difference between the rhythm of xxxiv. 1-10 and 11-17 is, I believe, certain: and, if so, it is critically important; for the arguments which have led many scholars to abandon the earlier view that Isaiah xxxiv. and xxxv. were written in the exilic period in favour of the view that they are a late post-exilic prophecy rest mainly on xxxiv. 11-17—which is metrically different from xxxiv. 1-10. The critical questions are complicated and difficult, and cannot be discussed here: but Duhm's judgment on these chapters seems to me to illustrate a second unfortunate result of the theory that Hebrew poetry was absolutely regular: on the one hand it leads to much unnecessary correction of the text; and, on the other, to a certain obtuseness to real difference of rhythm. The 3 : 2 distich is something really different from a 3 : 3 distich, even though both occur in the same poem: and if one

type of distich is exclusively used or dominant in one part of a passage, and another in another, a question may always arise whether the two parts are of the same origin: that even such a change as this *necessarily* implies difference of origin in all cases I am not prepared to assert: as a matter of fact, though I pointed out the difference of rhythm between Isaiah xiii. 1-8 and 9-22, which Duhm and others had attempted to conceal by groundless emendations, I refrained from asserting that the two parts in question were of different origin.

But it is in his criticism of the Book of Jeremiah that Duhm's rhythmical principles have proved most dangerous; here, as is well known, he works with the principle not only of regularity of distich and strophe, but also of one man, one metre. Though we owe to Duhm himself one of the warmest appreciations of Jeremiah as prophet and poet, we are yet asked to believe that this great prophet and poet confined himself throughout his long career to one metre! Working on this principle Duhm not only rejects the larger part of the poems attributed to Jeremiah, but he violates parallelism and shows obtuseness to rhythmical differences in order to retain much even of what he does retain, but which, if his critical theory that Jeremiah wrote only in "*ḳinah*" rhythm were correct, ought to be rejected. I have shown else-

where[1] with what violence, and even with what ridiculous results at times, as in his strophic division of Isaiah xi. 1-8, Duhm tears asunder the things that parallelism most evidently intended to be kept together. I must here confine myself to two examples of Duhm's treatment of the text of Jeremiah. The first example is Jeremiah iv. 3, 4: the present Hebrew text reads, and may be divided, as follows :—

כי־כה אמר יהוה | לאיש יהודה ולירושלם
נירו לכם ניר | ואל תזרעו אל־קצים
המלו ליהוה | והסירו ערלת לבבכם
איש יהודה | וישבי ירושלם
פן־תצא כאש חמתי | ובערה ואין מכבה

If we approach this passage without a theoretical prejudice, is it not obvious that the marked tendency of the clauses is to balance one another, not to echo one another, as, according to Duhm, if genuine, they should do? A further feature of the passage is the prominence of parallelism :—

For thus saith Yahweh
  To the men of Judah and Jerusalem,
Break up your fallow ground,
  And sow not among thorns;
Circumcise yourselves to Yahweh,
  And take away the foreskin of your heart,

[1] *Isaiah*, pp. 211 ff., and *Zeitschrift für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1912, pp. 193-198.

Men of Judah,
And inhabitants of Jerusalem;
Lest my fury go forth like fire,
And burn with none to quench it.

The rhythm for the most part is actually 3 : 3; I will not stay to inquire what grounds there may be for believing that that rhythm was originally maintained throughout: what I have to do is note how Duhm turns it into 3 : 2 and with what results :—

(1) He rejects the words "to the men of Judah and Jerusalem" in *v.* 3 (line 2 of the above translation) and also the similar words (lines 7 and 8 above) of *v.* 4; the latter omission is, perhaps, right.

(2) Having rejected line 2 above, he has to tear asunder lines 3 and 4 which are most obviously parallel to one another: line 3 is tacked on to line 1 to form a distich, and it is then assumed that the first line of the distich, of which line 4 above is the second line, has disappeared.

(3) Very interesting and specious is the treatment of the first part of *v.* 4: Duhm divides as follows :—

המלו ליהוה והסירו | ערלת לבבכם

Circumcise yourselves to Yahweh, and take away
The foreskin of your heart.

Now there is no doubt that the object of a verb may form the second part of a 3 : 2 line (or distich): I recall as examples two lines in Lamentations ii. 6 :—

שכח יהוה בציון | מועד ושבת
וינאץ בזעם אפו | מלך וכהן

Yahweh hath caused to be forgotten in Sion
Festal meeting and Sabbath;
And hath spurned in the indignation of his anger
King and priest.

Judge the line from a grammatical point of view only, and Duhm's division of Jeremiah iv. 4 seems to be at least a legitimate alternative to the division of the line after יהוה; but once the sense and parallelism are considered, how improbable does such a division appear. המלו and הסרו ערלת together are parallel terms, a clause of two terms being parallel to a single term, according to a practice which I have abundantly illustrated in a previous chapter:[1] what Duhm does is to chop this second parallel into two, giving one half to the line that has already expressed the whole idea, and leaving to the second line a mere lifeless fragment.

My other example of Duhm's methods is taken from the fine apocalyptic vision in Jeremiah iv. 23-26. I give it first exactly as it stands in the Hebrew text, the divisions of the text being of course my own :—

23 ראיתי את הארץ | והנה תהו ובהו | ואל השמים ואין אורם
24 ראיתי ההרים | והנה רעשים | וכל הגבעות התקלקלו
25 ראיתי והנה | אין האדם | וכל עוף השמים נדדו
26 ראיתי והנה | הכרמל המדבר | וכל עריו נתצו מפני יהוה

[1] See above, pp. 70-82.

In translating these lines I adopt two emendations noted in the next paragraph, and for convenience of printing throw the sections of the long Hebrew lines into separate lines :—

23 I beheld the earth,
And, lo, 'twas formless and empty;
And the heavens, and they had no light.
24 I beheld the mountains,
And, lo, they were trembling,
And all the hills moved to and fro.
25 I beheld [the ground],
And, lo, there was no man,
And all the birds of the heaven were fled.
26 I beheld the garden-land,
And, lo, 'twas wilderness,
And all the cities thereof were broken down before Yahweh.

Two emendations suggested by Duhm and essential to his rhythmical scheme, though they are not *essential* to what I believe to be the correct view of the rhythm of the passage, seem to me probable: he reads האדמה after ראיתי in *v.* 25, and transposes והנה and הכרמל in *v.* 26: this gives an exact similarity of structure to all four verses.

Once again, if any one will read these verses, whether emended as just suggested or not, without any prepossession as to what metre Jeremiah must have used, or as to the general desirability of attaching the term *ḳinah* to as much prophetic poetry as possible, he cannot, I believe, feel that they have any real rhythmical resemblance to

the prevailing rhythm in Lamentations i.-iv.: these four similar periods are neither *four* lines of *ḳinah*-like character as Cornill [1] describes them, nor *eight* lines of alternately three and two stresses, *i.e.* strict *ḳinah* lines, as Duhm will have it: they are four periods of the rarer rhythm 4 : 3.[2] What Cornill says is worth quoting: "The metre here assumes a somewhat different form. The characteristic of the *ḳinah* strophe, the short second member, to be sure remains; but the whole is weightier and tends more towards the gigantic: the first members have mostly four, the second three full stresses." The last remark is correct so far as it goes, but omits the very important additional fact that the first members are equally divided by a strongly marked caesura: this caesura gives to the entire period the rhythmical value 2 : 2 : 3 rather than 4 : 3, and *an effect which is the very opposite of the ḳinah*: there is no rhythmical echo, but two short balanced clauses are rounded off with a longer clause; the period swells out to its close instead of echoing off.

Thus Cornill's remarks seem to me an apt illustration of the disadvantages and the risk of confusion involved in working with too restricted a rhythmical nomenclature.

Instead of trying to compress the four periods

[1] *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 53. Cf. the note in *The Century Commentary* (A. S. Peake) on Jeremiah.

[2] See above, pp. 171-176.

into four *ḳinah* lines or distichs, Duhm goes to the opposite extreme and endeavours to squeeze *eight ḳinah* lines (or distichs) out of the present text amplified by a few additions which are really far too slight for the purpose. It is a question whether here the textual changes, or the rhythmical results, due to the necessity of making everything attributed to Jeremiah *ḳinah* rhythm, are the more improbable; of the *ḳinah* (!) lines that result this is one:[1]

את כל הגבעות | התקלקלו

and the additions to the text, besides that already mentioned (האדמה in *v.* 25), are these: four times over, in order to convert two stresses into three, Duhm inserts את! and that in a poetical passage![2] and in another place (*v.* 25) he resorts to the favourite device of inserting an infinitive absolute—נדוד. These five changes represent a hypothetical loss of eleven letters: how often

[1] To judge how far Duhm's lines resemble real 3 : 2, or *ḳinah*, lines, it is best, however, to read them entire. Duhm's lines are as follows:—

ראיתי את הארץ | והנה תהו
ופנה אל השמים | ואין אורם
ראיתי את ההרים | והנה רעשים
ואת כל הגבעות | התקלקלו
ראיתי את האדמה | והנה אין האדם
וכל עוף השמים | נדוד נדדו
ראיתי את הכרמל | והנה מדבר
וכל ההרים נתצו | מפני יהוה

[2] In the present text את occurs but once (in *v.* 23), and may there be an error for אל (so Rothstein in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*): note אל in the clause, also dependent on ראיתי, at the end of the verse, and the *ἐπί* of the Greek version (=על).

does the text of a short passage accidentally lose in transcription eleven letters distributed over five places without the sense being in the slightest degree affected ?

It is by such methods as these, which could be illustrated by an abundance of other examples, that Duhm succeeds in imposing regularity of line and strophe on Old Testament poetry. And it is on results so obtained that Duhm and others build up far-reaching critical and exegetical conclusions.

I will in conclusion briefly summarise some of the facts and some of the inferences drawn from them to which I have endeavoured to draw attention in these discussions, and briefly refer to one or two points which it has not been my purpose to discuss more fully.

The main forms of Hebrew poetry are two—parallelism and rhythm, to which, as a third and occasional form, we may add strophe. Rhyme, so common in many languages, and a constant and necessary form of all strictly metrical poetry in Arabic, as well as a characteristic of that other type of composition in Arabic known as *saj'* (" rhymed prose "), is in Hebrew, as in Assyrian, merely occasional. Curiously enough it is conspicuous in one of the earliest existing fragments of Hebrew poetry, the song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23, 24), and yet it never

developed into a form[1] of Hebrew poetry till poetry of the Old Testament, or parallelistic, type had long become extinct, and there came, under the influence of the Moslem culture and Arabic poetry, a renascence of Hebrew poetry in the Middle Ages.

Of the two main forms of Hebrew poetry, parallelism and rhythm, parallelism is most intimately associated with the sense, and can and should be represented in translation. In its broader aspects and general differences of types it was analysed once for all by Lowth: but a more accurate and detailed measurement of parallelism is required. Such a more exact measurement of parallelism enables us more readily to classify actual differences in different poems and different writers; and in particular to disentangle the very different types of incomplete parallelisms and merely parallelistic distichs grouped by Lowth under the single term "synthetic parallelism." A study, more especially of the different incomplete parallelisms, also affords an opportunity of watching the intimate connexion between parallelism and at least a certain approximation to rhythm.

Merely judged from the standpoint of parallel-

[1] For examples of rhyme in Hebrew, as also for evidence that it was too occasional and irregular to constitute a form of Hebrew poetry, see E. König, *Stilistik*, 355-357; G. A. Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel*, 24 f.; C. F. Burney, "Rhyme in the Song of Songs" in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, x. 554-557.

ism, rhythms fall into the two broad classes of balancing and echoing rhythms. Further metrical analysis is in detail frequently most uncertain: but while recognising this uncertainty, it is important, in order to avoid confusion, to adopt a method of measurement that is capable of giving us a clear and sufficient nomenclature. This is to be found in defining lines or distichs by the number of the stressed syllables in them. The exact number of unstressed syllables that may accompany a stressed syllable may be uncertain, but is certainly not unlimited.

A single rhythm need not be maintained throughout a poem, though there were probably limits to the degree of mixture that was tolerated. But in particular the elegy, though it commonly consisted of 3 : 2 distichs, was not limited to these: it certainly admitted along with these in the same poem 2 : 2. Mere change from a longer to a shorter distich of the same class, or even occasionally from a balancing to an echoing rhythm, is no conclusive evidence, and in many poems (for poems differ in the degree to which they are regular) is scarcely even a ground for suspecting corruption of text or change of source. On the other hand, a change in the dominant rhythm should raise a question whether or not a new poem has begun.

Finally the question remains whether, though parallelism in Hebrew seems commonly to have

concurred with certain rhythmical forms, it may not in some cases, as in the Arabic *saj'*, have been used in a freer style more closely allied to ordinary prose.

Of the history of parallelism and rhythm I have been able to say little. Did parallelism in Hebrew create rhythm, or was it added to an existing type of rhythm ? This is an interesting if an obscure question of origins. As to the lifetime of parallelism, we saw that it runs back to the earliest poetry preserved in the Old Testament, and that it was still a form of Hebrew poetry in the second century A.D., but was not to be clearly traced later : nor did it wake to new life with the revival of Hebrew poetry in the Middle Ages. An interesting episode is the transference of Hebrew parallelism to poetry composed by Jews in Greek, as *e.g.* in the Book of Wisdom.

If we speculate as to the historical development of rhythms, we shall perhaps most safely select as the earliest the 4 : 4 (or 2 : 2) rhythm, which Hebrew has in common with Assyrian, but which at a later time in Hebrew was outstripped by 3 : 3 and 3 : 2.

The best service to the future of Old Testament studies, so far as these can be affected by the examination of those formal elements with which alone these discussions have attempted to deal, will be rendered, I believe, by those who combine

with that further study of Hebrew metre which is certainly needed, for it is a subject which still presents many obscurities and uncertainties, an unswerving loyalty to the demands of that other and more obvious form or characteristic of Hebrew poetry which is known as parallelism.

CHAPTER VII

THE ALPHABETIC POEM IN NAHUM

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[The following discussion first appeared in the *Expositor* for September 1898. It was written to establish a position which has since been generally conceded, viz. that Nahum i. contains at least part of an alphabetic poem, or acrostich. But once this position is conceded it is reasonable enough to endeavour to rediscover the whole acrostich; and since 1898 fresh attempts have been made in this direction. But it still remains true that the argument that the whole acrostich and not merely part of it lies latent in Nahum i., ii. is much less cogent than the argument that chapter i. contains the first half of such a poem; it is also true that the emendations necessary to restore the last half of the poem are altogether more speculative and uncertain than those required to restore the first half. For this reason, and because the recognition of the fact that at least part of an alphabetic poem is present in Nahum i. has a very important bearing on the criticism of the Book of Nahum, I here reproduce what I wrote, without substantial alterations beyond additions which are inserted in square brackets, and the omission of a paragraph on Psalms ix. and x., which is rendered superfluous by the fuller discussion of those Psalms in the next chapter.

To have discussed all that has been written on this poem since 1898 would have been alien to the purpose

of this discussion: it would also be unnecessary; for the history of the criticism of Nahum i. and the many suggestions that have been made with a view to restoring the original text are very fully and admirably reviewed by Dr. J. M. Powis Smith in the "International Critical Commentary" on Nahum.]

The Old Testament contains a number of acrostich poems. The two laws of such acrostichs are that the initial letters of the several sections should follow the order of the alphabet, and that the sections devoted to each letter should be of (at least approximately) the same length. Different poems differ in the length of the section, but within the same poem the length must be the same. Thus in Psalm cxix. the length of each section is sixteen lines,[1] in Psalm xxxvii. four lines, in Lamentations cc. i., ii., iii.[2] three long ("*ḳinah*"[3]) lines, in Lamentations c. iv. two "*ḳinah*" lines, in Psalms xxv., xxxiv., cxlv. [Prov. xxxi. 10-31, Ecclus. li. 13-30] two lines, in Psalms cxi., cxii. one line. Slight deviations from each of these two laws occur in the present text of the poems. In some cases the deviation

[1] In this example every other line [*i.e.* every distich] within each section begins with the same letter. The verse in English most frequently contains two lines of the original; but as it sometimes contains more, sometimes less, the relation between different acrostichs can only be satisfactorily described by reckoning lines. The English reader will find the structure of the acrostich Psalms indicated by marginal letters in the recently issued English translation of the Book of Psalms (*Sacred Books of the Old Testament*) by Wellhausen and Furness [1898].

[2] In Lamentations c. iii. each of the three lines of the several sections begins with the same letter.

[3] Cf. Driver, *Introduction*[6] [9], pp. 457 f. [See, now, pp. 116-120 above.]

is clearly due to textual corruption. As a generally recognised instance of this, the absence of a word beginning with ע in Psalm xxxvii. 27 c may be instanced. Whether the absence of the ר verse in Psalm xxv., of the נ verse in Psalm cxlv., or the fact that in Psalm xxv. only a single line is devoted to א be original or the result of transcriptional error cannot be said with certainty. But even if the originality of the irregularities in question be admitted, the few exceptions simply serve to prove the two general laws already stated.[1] [More difficult and complicated questions of text in relation to a partially obvious alphabetic scheme arise in connexion with Psalms ix. and x., which are made the subject of special study in the next chapter.]

It is a matter of more recent observation, and at least in England [it was down to 1898[2] a

[1] [A special study of alphabetic poems—"Alphabetische und alphabetisierende Lieder im Alten Testaments," by Max Löhr—will be found in the *Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1905, pp. 173-198.]

[2] [But since 1898 the situation has entirely changed. Dr. Driver subsequently admitted more decisively than he had done previously that Nahum i. rested in part on an alphabetic poem (see below, p. 247 *n.*). And several scholars who have written since, both in England and America, have recognised parts of an acrostich in this chapter: see *e.g.* A. R. S. Kennedy, "Nahum" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 475; Karl Budde, "Nahum" in *Encyc. Biblica*, 3261; Paul Haupt, "The Book of Nahum" in *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxvi. (1907), 1-53; W. R. Arnold, "The Composition of Nahum i. 1–ii. 3" in the *Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, xxi. 225-265; C. F. Kent, *The Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets* (1910), 155-157; J. M. Powis Smith, "International Critical Commentary," 287-297. The sceptical judgment of A. B. Davidson referred to in the text has found no recent support.]

matter] of much less general recognition that the Book of Nahum, like Psalms ix., x., contains in whole or in part a mutilated acrostich. Following up earlier suggestions by a German pastor of the name of Frohnmeyer and by Franz Delitzsch, Bickell [1] and Gunkel [2] have ventured to reconstruct out of Nahum i. 1–ii. 3 a complete acrostich in which each stanza consists of two lines; and Nowack, in his excellent commentary on the Minor Prophets published last year [*i.e.* in 1897], has indicated the structure of the poem in his translation, and defended the requisite emendations in his notes. Three of the leading Old Testament scholars in our own country have recently [*i.e.* within the years 1896–1898] had occasion to refer to the subject. It has received at once the fullest and the most sceptical discussion from Dr. Davidson,[3] who appears to doubt the existence of any intentional alphabetic arrangement in Nahum c. i., and certainly discountenances any attempt to restore the latent acrostich, if such exist. Dr. Driver's judgment is expressed as follows in the last [*i.e.* the 6th] edition of his *Introduction* [1897]: "In Nahum

[1] In the *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellsch.*, 1880, pp. 559 f.; *Carmina Vet. Test. metrice* (1882), p. 212 f.; and "Beiträge zur sem. Metrik" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy (Phil. Hist. Series), vol. 131, Abhandlung V. (1890).

[2] In the *Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1893, pp. 223-244, and *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), pp. 102 f.

[3] *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (Camb. Bible for Schools), 1896, pp. 18-20.

i. 2–ii. 2 . . . traces of an acrostich . . . seem to be discernible." In a subsequent review of Nowack's commentary he has expressed himself somewhat more fully, but not more approvingly. After admitting that "undoubtedly there are traces of an alphabetic arrangement in the successive half verses," he expresses great doubts "whether this was ever intended to be carried systematically through, or whether it is due to anything more than the fact that the author allowed himself here and there, perhaps half accidentally, to follow the alphabetical order." [1] Dr. G. A. Smith,[2] while agreeing with the two scholars whose views have been just cited that much of the reconstruction of Bickell and Gunkel is arbitrary, quite decisively admits that the traces of an acrostich are real. To cite his own words: "The text of chapters i.-ii. 4 has been badly mauled, and is clamant for reconstruction of some kind. As it lies, there are traces of an alphabetical arrangement as far as the beginning of ver. 9" (p. 82). At the same time Dr. Smith minimises, as it appears to me, the force of the

[1] *Expository Times*, Dec. 1897, p. 119. Compare also *Introd.*,[6] p. xxi. [But in the Addenda (p. xxii f.) to the 7th ed. of the *Introduction* the originally acrostich form of Nah. i. 2-9 is definitely admitted. In the last edition of the *Introduction* (1913) the note (p. 337) runs: "In Nah. i. 2–ii. 2 (Heb. 3) traces of an acrostich are discernible which, though the restoration of the whole can be effected only with great violence, can be recovered with probability for *v.* 2-9"; and reference is made to the discussion which is now republished here, and to his own further discussion of the subject in the *Century Bible: Minor Prophets*, ii. (1906), pp. 25-28.]

[2] *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. (1898), pp. 81-84.

evidence and fails to take full account of what he himself admits.

Under these circumstances a fresh discussion of the subject will hardly be considered uncalled for. It may be true of the last part of the poem that the restoration of the acrostich " can never be more than an academic exercise " (Davidson) ; but the establishment of the fact, if fact it be, that parts or the whole of a regularly and consciously constructed acrostich poem lie latent in the Book of Nahum cannot remain without effect on the exegesis of the passage and on certain not unimportant critical problems.

Where too much is attempted it frequently happens that too little gains recognition. Both Bickell and Gunkel have attempted to reconstruct an entire acrostich. Much of the detail is of necessity uncertain. The consequence is that, as we have seen, it is still [*i.e.* in 1898] doubted whether the chapter contains even any fragments of an acrostich. We must therefore distinguish between the proof that Nahum contains traces of an acrostich, which, when the evidence is duly presented, is cogent, and certain details of reconstruction, which are requisite if an entire acrostich is to be restored, but for which the evidence is in one or two cases strong, in many slight, and in some *nil*.

The proof that Nahum contains at least parts of an acrostich must be based on the phenomena

presented by the Hebrew text and the versions of the first nine verses of chapter i. Any one who is unconvinced by these will remain unconvinced by the much less conspicuous and significant phenomena of the following verses. The influence of the two laws of the acrostich—alphabetical succession of initial letters and equal lengths of the several verses or sections—can best be made clear to those unfamiliar with Hebrew by a translation arranged in parallel lines. Variations from the Hebrew consonantal text are printed in italics. The initial letters are printed on the left hand together with a numeral indicating the position of the letter in the Hebrew alphabet; and these are inserted in brackets when they are only gained by rearrangement of the order of words or lines. For convenience of reference in the subsequent discussion, the number of the lines of the translation are placed on the right hand. [The verse numbers are indicated by superior figures in the text.]

1. א [2] A God jealous and avenging is Yahweh,
Yahweh taketh vengeance and is full of wrath;[1]

[1] [There can be no question that the dominant rhythm of this poem is 3 : 3; but the first distich is 4 : 4. The occurrence of 4 : 4 in a poem mainly consisting of 3 : 3 is not impossible; nevertheless this distich was probably not 4 : 4 in its original form. For, (1) except by unnaturally dividing it, so that it should be rendered, *God is jealous, and Yahweh is avenging*, the first line does not fall into two equal divisions as is commonly the case in 4 : 4 rhythm (see pp. 168 f.); (2) the use of the same term *avenging* in both lines is improbable; (3) the Greek version appears to rest on a text that had only six words (*i.e.* 3 : 3

[Yahweh taketh vengeance on his adversaries,
And retaineth anger for his enemies.
3 Yahweh is longsuffering and great in strength,
But [1] Yahweh will not wholly acquit.]
2. ב In whirlwind and storm is his way,
And clouds are the dust of his feet.
3. ג 4 He rebuketh the sea and drieth it up,
And parcheth all the rivers.
(4. ד) Bashan and Carmel *languish*,[2]
And the growth of Lebanon withers.
5. ה 5 Mountains quake because of him,
And *all* the hills melt.
6. ו So the earth becomes desolate [3] before him,
The world and all that dwell therein.
(7. ז) 6 Before his indignation who can stand?
And who can endure the heat of his anger?
8. ח His wrath pours out like fire,
And rocks are *kindled* [4] by him.
9. ט 7 Good is Yahweh to *those who wait for him*,[5]
A stronghold in the day of distress.

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rhythm). The exact form of the original may remain a matter of some uncertainty; most probably it was:

A jealous God is Yahweh,
One that avengeth, and is full of wrath.

Powis Smith prefers, *A jealous and avenging God is Yahweh, and filled with wrath*: and it is true that the period of six accents may divide into 4 : 2 (see p. 182 f.); but in that case, too, the four-stress section is generally divided by a secondary caesura into two equal parts (p. 182), whereas the longer line in the verse as taken by Powis Smith does not so divide.]

[1] I follow the Syriac in connecting Yahweh with this line; cf. LXX as punctuated in Swete's edition: MT., and consequently E.V., connect it with the following line.

[2] See below [where רלל is suggested in place of אמלל].

[3] Point ותשא (the word used of desolate cities in Isa. vi. 11) instead of ותשא. The R.V. rendering of the latter word is hazardous. In favour of the emendation, cf. Targ. יהרובת. Vulg. *contremuit* is at least no support of MT.

[4] MT. נתצו means "are thrown down," not "are broken asunder" (R.V.); by a transposition of the second and third letters we get נצתו=are kindled.

[5] LXX *τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν*=לקויו (cf. *e.g.* Isa. xlix. 23). It has sometimes been supposed that לקוי is a simple misreading of למעו

(10. י) He knoweth those who trust in him,
[1] And in the overflowing flood *delivers them.*[1]
(11. כ) An utter end he maketh of *them that rise against him,*[2]
And he *thrusts*[3] his enemies into the darkness.
(12. ל) [4a] *Not twice does he take vengeance on his adversaries,*[4]
[9b] *An utter end he maketh.*
(13. מ) [9a] *Why do ye plan against Yahweh?*[5]

The foregoing translation represents to the eye the original structure of the poem, which is quite obscured by the unoriginal and indeed very late verse division found in E.V. The fact that any of the alphabetic letters occurs in the middle of a *verse* is a matter of entire indifference to our argument. The question is: How frequently and with what regularity do they occur at the beginning of *lines*? The main and indisputable facts can be seen by a glance at the marginal letters accompanying the translation. Before discussing some of the more ambiguous phenomena it will be well to point out that the lines are, for Hebrew poetry, remarkably regular in length. The case for the reality of metre in

(Hebrew text) or *vice versa*. But this is unlikely. The individual letters are not very similar. More probably the present Hebrew and Greek texts have each arisen by the intentional or accidental omission of one of the two words. The Targum is too free to afford convincing evidence; but the translation would be easily explained by the text assumed above. It runs thus: "Good is Yahweh to Israel that they may stay themselves upon him in time of distress"—Israel=לקויו; that they may stay themselves upon him=למעון.

[1] Supply יְצִילֵם. [2] [Reading בקמיו for מקומה.]
[3] Reading יהרף for ירדף; cf. Job xviii. 18.
[4] Reading יקום and בצריו for תקום and צרה, after LXX ἐκδικήσει, ἐν θλίψει.
[5] The *order* of these [three] lines is different in MT. Otherwise the text is unchanged except as indicated in n. 4.

Hebrew poetry does not appear to me to be made out.[1] But there is no question that in many poems the lines consist of approximately the same number of words. This is the case with the present passage. The regular length of the line is three or four [2] independent words. In one case only (l. 14) the number of words is only two.[3] In line 5, which, as we shall see below, is probably part of a gloss, the number is five. Unless the emendations adopted in lines 22, 25 be accepted, two other lines also extended to five words.[4] The effect of the emendations is in each case to make out of a single line of five words two lines of three words (ll. 21, 22; 24, 25). With the exceptions mentioned the emendations adopted do not effect the length of the lines. Even in the Hebrew text as it stands, out of twenty-seven lines all but four consist either of three or four independent

[1] [This statement is now, of course, to be modified in accordance with Chapters I.-VI. of the present work.]

[2] [The lines, except as indicated above, regularly consist of *three* stressed words: the only examples, even in the present text, of lines clearly containing four stresses are *v.* 2 a, b; and these also, as pointed out above (p. 249, n. 1), were both originally lines of three stresses.]

[3] *I.e.* in the Hebrew text. In the translation I have adopted Gunkel's suggestion. He inserts כל before הנבעות (cf. Ps. cxlviii. 9; Jer. iv. 24; Amos ix. 13). [Though line 23 contains three *words*, it is most naturally read as a line of two *stresses*, חסי בו falling under a single stress. Probably enough, therefore, a word has fallen out, though whether that word was *Yahweh* and we ought, as many think, to read *Yahweh knoweth* for *He knoweth* is uncertain. The repetition of Yahweh so soon after line 21 is not required.]

[4] The dissimilarity in length of these lines to the others appears in Prof. Smith's translation, *Book of the Twelve*, ii. p. 93, 4th and 2nd lines from bottom.

words. A great tendency to approximate regularity of length must therefore be admitted.

Turning now to the occurrence and position of the acrostich letters, it will again be well to proceed from the certain to the uncertain.

As the Hebrew text stands apart from any, even the slightest emendation, the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, and 9th letters of the Hebrew alphabet stand at the beginning of the 7th, 9th, 13th, 15th, 19th, and 21st lines respectively; in other words, they stand separated from one another by precisely the same *constant* interval which would separate them in an acrostich poem so constructed that two lines should be given to each successive letter; actual instances of similarly constructed and virtually unmutilated poems are, as we have seen, Psalms xxv., xxxiv., cxlv., and Proverbs xxxi. 10-31. This single fact, when duly considered, appears to me to necessitate the conclusion that we have in this passage the result of fully conscious design, and in these lines, as in those that intervene, parts of an acrostich. Previous [1] English presentations of this subject, so far as known to me, have not brought into sufficient relief the evidence of the influence of both laws of the acrostich — the occurrence of the letters of the alphabet in regular succession *at regular intervals*.

In the Hebrew text as it now stands the 11th

[1] [Previous, that is to say, to 1898.]

and 17th lines do not begin with ד and ז respectively, as they should do if they formed part of an acrostich. Nor, again, does the 23rd line begin with י, as it should do if the acrostich or the fragment thereof extended so far. Is there anything apart from the acrostich theory which suggests that at these points the Hebrew text is corrupt? Or failing that, can the acrostich theory be satisfied by simple and probable conjectural emendation? If this should be so, the evidence of the uncorrected Hebrew text, in itself so strong as to be almost irresistible, receives some further support.

In the case of what should be the *daleth* verse (ll. 11, 12), but which in our present text begins with an *aleph*, the versions are certainly interesting and suggestive. In the two parallel lines (11, 12) the Hebrew text has the same verb (אמלל); in *all* the early versions (LXX, Syr., Targ., Vulg.), the verbs in the two lines are different.[1] Thus the double occurrence of the same word in the two parallel lines is on grounds of textual criticism open to grave suspicion.[2] On the same grounds, however, it

[1] LXX, ὀλιγώθη . . . ἐξέλιπεν; Syr., ܐܟܠ . . . ܡܟܣ; Targ., נתרו . . . צדי; Vulg., "Infirmatus est . . . elanguit." This cannot well be attributed to a mere desire for variation, for just below, in lines 17, 18, both Syr. and LXX translate *different* Hebrew words by the same Greek (ὀργή) or Syriac (ܪܘܓܙܐ).

[2] I question whether the mere fact of the repetition of the same word in the second line could reasonably be regarded as suspicious. There are too many similar instances in our present Hebrew text for it to be safely assumed that a Hebrew poet never used the same verb

must be admitted that all these versions read אמלל with initial *aleph* at the beginning of the former of the two lines,[1] where the acrostich requires a word beginning with *daleth*. This is a fact which ought to be frankly faced and duly considered in deciding to what extent Nahum i. 1–ii. 2 preserves an acrostich poem. But it must be noted further that the verbs used by the LXX and Syriac versions in the second line of the same parallel (l. 12 in the above translation) never occur elsewhere as translations of אמלל, although in each of these versions several equivalents of אמלל are found[2] one of which might have been

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in two parallel lines. [Such repetitions as occur in the Hebrew text here do, however, appear to me now to be in themselves open to *some* suspicion, though not of course to be *certainly* due to textual corruption. Some may be original; others, like the repetition of אמלל here, are due to the accidental repetition of the term in the first line of a distich driving out the parallel, but different, term in the second line. Other more or less certain examples of such accidents may be found in Isa. xi. 5, xvi. 7, xxvi. 7, and are pointed out in the notes on those passages in the "International Critical Commentary." See further, below, pp. 295 f.]

[1] In each case the words, used by the versions in this place, occur elsewhere as translations of אמלל: thus ὀλιγοῦν in Joel i. 10, 12; ܐܟܠ in the Pesch. of Isaiah xxiv. 4, 7, Jeremiah xv. 9, Hosea iv. 3; צדי (in the Targums as printed in Walton's Polyglot) in Isaiah xix. 8, xxiv. 4, Jeremiah xv. 9 (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 5; and the Pesch. use of ܪܕܐ in 1 Sam. ii. 5, Jer. xiv. 2, Lam. ii. 8); *infirmatus* (or *infirmus*) *est* in the Vulgate of 1 Samuel ii. 5, Isaiah xxiv. 4 (*bis*), 7, Jeremiah xv. 9, Hosea iv. 3, Psalm vi. 3.

[2] In addition to the words mentioned in the last note but two, the LXX uses ἀσθενής (or verb) Psalm vi. 3, Lamentations ii. 8, 1 Samuel ii. 5; πενθεῖν Isaiah xvi. 8, xix. 8, xxiv. 4, 7, xxxiii. 9 (?); κενοῦσθαι Jeremiah xiv. 2, xv. 9; μικρύνεσθαι Hosea iv. 3; and the Syriac uses ܪܕܐ 1 Samuel ii. 5, Jeremiah xiv. 2, Lamentations ii. 8 (cf. also the usage of צדי in the Targ.—see preceding note); ܟܪܝܗ Psalm vi. 3 and (Ethpeel of verb) Isaiah xix. 8; ܚܪܒ Joel i. 10, 12, Isaiah xvi. 8.

used had the translators merely desired variant renderings in the two lines of the same verb.

It is, therefore, improbable that אמלל stood in the Hebrew text of line 12 at the times when the LXX and Syriac versions were made.[1] On the other hand there is reason for believing that the actual reading of the Hebrew text which lay before at least the Greek translators was דלל (dālal). For (1) this verb is translated by the same Greek word that is found in line 12 in Isaiah xxxviii. 14, and probably also in Isaiah xix. 6; compare also Isaiah xvii. 4; (2) the two final letters of דלל are the same as of אמלל; this would have facilitated an accidental copying of the verb of the previous line. The chief question that remains is whether the verb דלל would be appropriate. Certainly there is no other instance of its being used of foliage, but in Isaiah xxxviii. 14 it is used of languishing eyes, in Isaiah xvii. 4 (Niphal) of the glory of Jacob, and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (Hiphil) of thinning out vines or olives.[2]

But beyond this not unimportant suggestion the versions do not help us. Already when they were made lines 11, 17, 23 began with other

[1] It is less improbable that the Targ. and Vulg. read אמלל here as well as in the preceding line, though of course the difference in the translations still constitutes a considerable [?] presumption against identity in the original. But both words used in Targ. and Vulg. also appear elsewhere as translations of אמלל. On צרי and *infirmatus est* see preceding note; for נתר cf. Joel i. 10, 12, and for *elanguit* Joel i. 10, 12, Isa. xxxiii. 9.

[2] See *Peah.* iii. 3, vii. 5; *Shebi'ith* iv. 4.

letters than those required by the acrostich. In line 23, however, the initial word is וידע; the acrostich is at once satisfied by the simple omission of ו, which leaves ידע. That ו was constantly added through dittography or overlooked before another ו or י, with which latter letter it is frequently confused, becomes clear from a comparison of the LXX and Hebrew texts. In assuming then that the ו at the beginning of line 23 is intrusive, we are simply assuming what we know for certain frequently happened in similar cases.

The recovery of the initial ד and ז requires us to assume two [1] cases of transposition of words in the course of the transcription of the Hebrew text prior to the Greek translation. Once again no one questions that transpositions have taken place in the course of transcription. That the three initial letters wanting in the present text

[1] In lines 11, 12 we must assume that the verbs of the two lines became transposed [see p. 296] and that the original Hebrew ran רלל בשן וברמל ופרח לבנון אמלל. In line 17 the fourth word of the line (לפניו) became transposed (having lost its final letter) to the beginning; for the present text לפני ועמו מי יעמד read therefore ועמו מי יעמד לפניו. The sense remains the same, but the Hebrew becomes more idiomatic; cf. Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 196 f. [The last clause is an overstatement. I should have said: the sense remains the same, and the Hebrew quite grammatical. The order of the emended text is rather, as Driver puts it (*Minor Prophets*, p. 26, n. 7), "less easy and natural than the existing order." The author of the acrostich adopted a possible, though less easy, order for his words in the interests of his alphabetic scheme, just as the author of Ps. cxix. uses אתה in *v.* 4, and places אתחקיך at the beginning of *v.* 8, to satisfy the conditions of his alphabetic scheme rather than because he wished to express any real emphasis. An objection taken to the emendation by Arnold is entirely lacking in force, and is completely answered by Powis Smith.]

reappear by means of such comparatively simple emendations, thus giving us nine successive letters of the alphabet as initial letters at remarkably constant intervals, turns a prior great probability into virtual certainty.

If then the case is made out that lines 7-24 are nine successive stanzas of an acrostich poem which has suffered in three cases at the beginning of lines, and at least three or four times elsewhere from transcriptional error, how much may we infer with regard to the rest of this poem, of which at least this considerable fragment has survived without serious mutilation? Is the rest of the poem to be found in the remainder of the passage? Has it also suffered merely from the chances and accidents of transcription? Or has it been in parts obliterated, in parts interpolated?

That it has received some interpolation no one will question. The prophetic formula, "Thus saith Yahweh" (*v.* 12), never formed part of an acrostich poem; and its presence can hardly help suggesting that the latter part of the poem, even if it survive in the main, has been to some extent recast by the inserter of these words. We have then to reckon with the probability of intentional as well as transcriptional changes in such parts of the poem as may be discovered after these words.

As it is the purpose of the present chapter to

distinguish what is certain or very probable from details which are uncertain and only gain what varying degrees of probability they may severally possess in the light of that which is more certain, it will be sufficient from this point on to make brief notes on some of the more uncertain details and some of the questions which a careful study of Nahum i. 1–ii. 3 must necessarily raise.

(1) In the translation I have ventured to indicate the acrostich letters of the next three stanzas to those already discussed. Their restoration involves greater assumptions than did the restoration of the initial ד, ז, and י. But the emendation which gives the כ stanza (ll. 25, 26) seems to me very probable, and the transposition that places the ל stanza (ll. 27, 28) in its right place and gives us a first line of the מ stanza (l. 29) probable. The כ stanza immediately appears if we assume that a single word (יצילם = he delivers them) has dropped out after the words "with an overflowing flood." Not only so; the same emendation gives us two parallel lines of three words each instead of a single line of five words—a length which we have seen above in itself raises suspicion. The ל stanza and the first line of the מ stanza reappear on a mere rearrangement of lines. Lines 27, 28, 29 in the above translation stand in the Hebrew text in the order 29, 28, 27. On exegetical

grounds the rearrangement appears to me an improvement, and thus far gains independent support.[1]

(2) From the first line of the מ stanza onwards the acrostich can only be restored by much more radical alterations, and any particular suggestion can be regarded as little more than a possibility. At the same time the general fact that at least parts of the remainder of the poem lie embedded in the following verses appears probable. It is just in this part of the passage that the text is frequently so corrupt as to be unintelligible. It is, for instance, difficult to believe that any one can seriously consider *v.* 10 in its present form to have been written by an intelligent Hebrew.[2] Of details, the most probable appears to me that the ס stanza began with the סירים of *v.* 10. In *v.* 12 the sense almost requires us to omit the ו of ועִנִּתִךְ, so that we may translate "I have afflicted thee, but will afflict thee no more"; עִנִּתִךְ might then be considered the commencement of the ע stanza. Transpositions and omissions can seldom be dismissed as impossible; for apart from any acrostich theory it is very

[1] The translation adopted by Dr. G. A. Smith and Prof. Nowack of line 29, "What think ye of Yahweh?" is, to say the least, hazardous—more especially if with the former scholar we regard *v.* 11 as genuine. Partly on this ground, partly on others, I am not inclined to follow Prof. Nowack in transposing lines 3, 5, 4 so that they follow line 29, and form the answer to the question.

[2] "These [? *read* there] are parts of Nahum i. (as *vv.* 10-12) in which the text is desperately corrupt" (Driver, *Expos. Times*, p. 119, footnote). Cf. also Davidson's notes on i. 10, 12, 15.

difficult to believe that the sudden transitions from Judah to Nineveh (?) as the person addressed in i. 8, 15 (Heb. i. 8, ii. 1) is original. Professor G. A. Smith, who never suffers himself to be controlled by the acrostich theory, nevertheless finds it necessary to " disentangle " i. 13, ii. 1-3, from the rest, and print these verses by themselves as an address to Judah.

(3) The first line of the translation begins in the Hebrew, as it should do, with an *aleph*; it and the following line constituted the first section of the poem. But as the section must not exceed two lines, lines 3-6 cannot be original—at least in their present position. I have little doubt myself that Gunkel is right in regarding them as a gloss intended to limit explicitly the absolute assertion of the preceding lines.[1] It is worth noticing that line 5 is suspiciously long, consisting as it does of five words.

(4) Lines 1, 2, and 7-29 thus constitute the first 25 lines or the first $12\frac{1}{2}$ sections of an acrostich poem of 44 lines or 22 sections; some of the remaining 17 lines may survive mutilated and in disorder in chapters i. 10–ii. 3. The translation as given above (with the omission of ll. 3-6) in all probability approximates very

[1] " This is not obvious, and would hardly have been alleged apart from the needs of the alphabetic scheme " (G. A. Smith, p. 83). Perfectly true; but if the alphabetical scheme in parts be independently proved a reality, the view of *v.* 1 taken above, though not immediately obvious, becomes the most probable.

closely to the sense and form of the first half of the original poem.

(5) Nahum i. 1–ii. 3 is at most only in part the work of the prophet Nahum. The main alternatives are these: (*a*) Nahum recast and in places expanded an existing acrostich poem. (*b*) Nahum composed an acrostich poem which has suffered much in transcription and has been in places expanded by some subsequent editor. (*c*) Some fragments of Nahum (? part of i. 11–ii. 3) have been combined with parts of an acrostich poem. (*d*) An acrostich poem which, either before or after, suffered transcriptional corruption and interpolation has been incorporated in the book of Nahum by an editor, just as a short psalm (Isa. xii.) was incorporated in the book of Isaiah, and a longer psalm in the book of Habakkuk (c. iii.). Alternative (*a*) is very improbable; nor is (*b*) likely. But if either of these be adopted, this poem would be the earliest Hebrew acrostich of certain date, the next earliest being chapters i.-iv. of Lamentations.

(6) In view of the doubt that attaches to the chapter, evidence for the date of Nahum drawn from chapters ii. and iii. should be allowed to outweigh any counter evidence in chapter i. The effect of this is to strengthen the strong arguments which have induced recent writers [1]

[1] Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, pp. 13-18; G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. pp. 85-88. Cf. Driver, *Introduction*, p. 335 f.

to assign the prophecy to the year 608 rather than *circa* 660 or 623.

The present discussion contains, I am well aware, comparatively little that will be new to those who are acquainted with the German discussions to which I have referred, and to which I have throughout been greatly indebted, although I hope that my suggestion, based as it is on the evidence of the LXX, that the verb of the *daleth* stanza is דלל, may find acceptance.[1] But I shall have achieved my purpose if I have succeeded in proving that it must henceforth be accepted as a fixed point for the criticism and interpretation of Nahum that the position of certain initial letters in the first chapter is not fortuitous, but the result of a fully conscious design; and, therefore, that this chapter contains at least considerable parts of an acrostich poem.

[1] [Among those who have accepted דלל are Driver, Duhm (*Zeitschr. für die AT. Wissenschaft*, 1911, p. 101), and Powis Smith ("International Critical Commentary"). It is not obvious that those who still prefer one of the alternative emendations (דאב or רבאו) have fully considered the evidence of the versions as given above.]

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALPHABETIC STRUCTURE OF PSALMS IX. AND X.

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[The following discussion first appeared in the *Expositor* for September 1906. It is here republished substantially unchanged except by the addition of one long note on Ps. ix. 6-9 (pp. 271 f.), and a few words or shorter notes elsewhere. These additions are enclosed in square brackets.]

Some few years since [1] I attempted to prove afresh (for at the time it was not generally admitted by English scholars) the existence in the first chapter of Nahum of part of an alphabetic poem; in recoil from certain over-elaborate and inconclusive attempts to prove that an *entire* alphabetic poem lay concealed there, several writers had expressed scepticism of the existence of even a part of such a poem, for which nevertheless the evidence, rightly considered, was really, and is now more generally admitted to be, irresistible.

I here propose to rediscuss the question of the

[1] The *Expositor*, 1898 (Sept.), pp. 207-220. [Now appearing as Chapter VII. of the present work.]

alphabetic structure of Psalms ix. and x. In this case it is agreed that we have to do with parts of an alphabetic poem (or of two); but opinion remains divided as to the extent of these parts. In the interests alike of the criticism of the Psalter, the history of the Hebrew text, and the interpretation of the particular psalm (or psalms), it is important to narrow down the legitimate differences of opinion to the utmost.

In the present Hebrew text, and consequently in modern versions, Psalms ix. and x. form two distinct poems. On the other hand, in the Septuagint, probably also in the later Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, certainly also in Jerome's version, which was made direct from the Hebrew, Psalms ix. and x. formed a single undivided whole.[1] Is the unity of the poem as presented in the versions accidental or fictitious? or does the division into two psalms in the Hebrew text correspond to original diversity of origin? These questions, which are of first importance for the interpretation of the poem (or poems), are intimately connected with the question of the alphabetic structure.

The unity of the two psalms has been maintained chiefly by those who also hold that the incompleteness of the alphabetic scheme, which marks the text in its present condition, is mainly due to textual corruption. This theory has been

[1] See Baethgen, *Psalmen*,[2] p. 22.

presented (with many differences in detail) by Bickell, by Dr. T. K. Abbot, whose valuable article,[1] dependent in the main on Bickell, but with important independent suggestions, seems to have exercised less influence than it deserved, by Dr. Cheyne in the second edition of his *Book of Psalms*, and by Duhm. It is, I believe, substantially correct, and its failure to gain more general support from English writers is probably due to the numerous and, in some cases, necessarily uncertain conjectures with which its presentation has been connected. My more particular purpose is to show that the alphabetic arrangement certainly extends *further* than has been generally admitted except by those who have argued that it extended throughout. If this can be established, it will invalidate the most attractive of the theories that deny the unity of the poem, that of Baethgen, which I shall describe below, and it will establish at the least a considerable presumption that the alphabetic arrangement, where it now fails to appear or appears less clearly, once existed, and consequently that the two psalms are a unity whose integrity has been impaired mainly, if not exclusively, by the ordinary accidents of textual transmission.

To facilitate the discussion I give first a translation with some notes on the text, chiefly

[1] In *Hermathena*, 1889, pp. 21-28; also in *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*, pp. 200-207.

on those parts of the text which are of importance in the present examination. In order to concentrate attention on my main point, I have left unadopted, and generally, too, unnoticed, many emendations suggested more especially by Dr. Cheyne and Duhm which otherwise would unquestionably deserve attention, if not acceptance. But the result of my examination, as I point out at the close, appears to me to render certain types of these emendations improbable.

In the translation all departures from the Hebrew consonantal text, whether justified by the ancient versions or not, are printed in italics. Words which are unintelligible (either in themselves or in their context), and yet cannot be satisfactorily emended, are left untranslated and represented by . . .; in some cases where a lacuna may be suspected I have used the signs + + +. Words or letters omitted are represented by ʌ. So far as the alphabetic strophes are clear, I have printed them as strophes with the initial letter at the head, following the method adopted in the Authorised Version and Revised Version of Psalm cxix. and by Dr. G. A. Smith in his translation of Lamentations ii. and iv. [which appeared first] in the *Expositor* for April 1906, pp. 327-336, [and subsequently in *Jerusalem from the Earliest Times*, ii. pp. 274-283]. Those initial letters which do not occur in the present Hebrew text I have given in brackets alongside

of the immediately preceding initial, at the head of a section extending (without subdivision into strophes) down to the next initial occurring in the text. In this way I hope that I may bring the problem presented by the present state of the text somewhat clearly before the reader's eye. In Psalm ix. the verses are numbered according to the Hebrew enumeration, which, beginning with 2, is one in advance of the English throughout. In Psalm x. the Hebrew and English enumerations agree.

א

IX. [2] I will give thanks unto *Thee*, Yahweh, with my whole heart,
I will recount all Thy wonders;
[3] I will rejoice and exult in Thee,
I will make melody to Thy Name, O Most High.

ב

[4] Because mine enemies shall turn backward,
Shall stumble and perish at Thy presence;
[5] For Thou hast maintained my right and my cause,
Hast sat upon the throne as a righteous judge.

ג, (ד), (ה)

[6] Thou hast rebuked the nations + + +,
Thou hast destroyed the wicked + + +;

[2a] *Thee* with LXX (*i.e.* אודך for אודה of the Hebrew text), and in agreement with the address to Yahweh in the following verses.

[6-9] [These verses should contain what survives of the three strophes which began with the letters ג, ד, and ה. Of these initials only ג appears in the present text. In spite of the loss of its initial letter, ה, the third of these strophes seems still to be almost complete; for ויהי (*v.* 10), the beginning of the ו strophe, is preceded by two distichs, with lines parallel to one another and of normal length, which

Thou hast wiped out their name for ever and aye,
7 The enemy (?) + + +.
Silent (?) are the ruins for ever,
And the cities Thou didst uproot—perished is their memory.

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are closely connected with one another in thought: Yahweh is on the point of giving judgment (*v.* 8), which he will give in justice and righteousness (*v.* 9). In the first line of *v.* 8, which should begin with the initial ה, the term ישב is parallel to the three terms of the second line, and the two words ויהוה לעולם are non-parallel terms (cp. p. 76 f.): of these יהוה seems the more needed; לעולם may or may not be original; if the distich was, as some of the distichs in this poem certainly appear to be, 4 : 3 (p. 173-176), the original may perhaps be recovered by simply substituting הנה יהוה for ויהוה; if the distich was 3 : 3, by making this substitution and omitting לעולם.

Verses 6 and 7 contain only about one line, or at most four or five words, more than the normal length of one strophe, whereas two strophes, beginning with נ and ר respectively, must originally have stood here. Is the loss of between two and four lines, or, say, six to ten words, spread evenly over the two strophes, or has the ר strophe wholly dropped out in the same way that whole strophes have disappeared from Ps. xxv. and cxlv. (see p. 245)? In the latter case *v.* 6 might be the first distich, and *v.* 7 a corrupt and slightly expanded form of the second distich of the נ strophe; and what is printed above as two mutilated lines in *v.* 6 was in reality a single line with secondary parallelism (cp. p. 104) between its two clauses—a feature which appears elsewhere in this poem (see ix. 14 a; x. 11 b, 12 a, 17 b). Be this as it may, I am, on the whole, inclined now to think that לעולם ועד at the end of *v.* 6 and לנצח in *v.* 7 a were originally parallel terms in the final distich of the נ strophe; I suspect that this distich was 4 : 3, that האויבתמו conceals a noun with the 3rd pl. masc. suffix parallel to שמם, and חרבות a 2nd sing. pf. form of a vb. parallel to מחית. Instead of the last line of *v.* 6 and the first two of *v.* 7 given above, I should now suggest:

Thou hast wiped out their name for ever and aye,
Their . . . hast thou . . . for evermore.

If this view be correct all that survives of the ר strophe is וערים נתשת אבד זכרם המה, of which the last word may be a corrupt form of the first word of the ה strophe; *i.e.* of twelve to sixteen words of the ר strophe, but four or five survive: under these circumstances to guess what the initial word was seems to me fruitless.]

6 ab Duhm, perhaps rightly, sees here fragments of two parallel lines (for the thought is certainly parallel) rather than the whole of a single line (R.V. and most). [But see preceding note.]

7-8 These verses are certainly corrupt, but the above emendations (like others that have been proposed) are little more than makeshifts.

Silent: reading דמו for תמו; [yet this is very doubtful; see the

Behold (?) [8] Yahweh sitteth (enthroned) for ever,
He hath established His throne for judgment;
[9] And 'tis He will judge the world in righteousness,
He will pass sentence on the peoples with equity.

ו

[10] So may Yahweh be a high retreat for the crushed,
A high retreat in seasons of extremity;
[11] And let them that know Thy Name trust in Thee,
For Thou hast not forsaken them that seek Thee,
O Yahweh.

ז

[12] Make melody unto Yahweh, who sitteth (enthroned) in Sion,
Declare among the peoples His doings;
[13] For he that requireth blood hath remembered ∧,
He hath not forgotten the cry of the afflicted.

ח

[14] Be gracious to me, Yahweh, behold my affliction ∧,
O Thou who raisest me up from the gates of Death;
[15] In order that I may recount all Thy praises,
(And) in the gates of Sion's daughter exult in Thy salvation.

---

discussion on *vv.* 6-9]. The Authorised Version (=R.V. marg.) is sufficiently criticised by Kirkpatrick, but the Revised Version is also very questionable; literally the Hebrew text runs, *The enemy* (singular) *are* (plural) *ruins for ever.*

Behold: reading הנה יהוה for המה ויהוה of the Hebrew text. The Revised Version again substitutes for a wrong translation of the Authorised Version a wrong one of its own. In rendering *their very memorial has perished*, it emphasises *memorial* which the Hebrew text does not, and omits the emphasis which (doubtless owing to textual corruption) actually falls on the pronoun. The only correct rendering of the present text is *their memorial, even theirs, has perished.*

[13a] *Remembered:* Hebrew text adds *them*; but the position of the pronoun is suspicious.

[14a] *Affliction:* Hebrew text adds משנאי which the Revised Version renders, (*which I suffer*) *of them that hate me.* But the construction is

ט

16 The nations have sunk down in the pit they made,
In the net they hid their own foot has been caught;
17 Yahweh hath made Himself known in the execution of justice,
The wicked has been trapped in the work of his own hands.

י

18 The wicked shall return unto Sheol,
(Even) all the nations that forget God;

כ

19 For the poor shall not be forgotten for ever,
(Nor) the hope of the afflicted perish for aye.
20 Arise, Yahweh, let not frail man be strong,
Let the nations be judged before Thy face;
21 Appoint terror for them, O Yahweh,
Let the nations know they are frail men.

ל (מ)

X. 1 Wherefore, Yahweh, standest Thou afar off,
Hidest Thou (Thine eyes) in seasons of extremity?
2 In arrogance the wicked hotly pursues the afflicted;
Let them be caught in the devices they have imagined.
3 For the wicked praiseth *his* desire;
The greedy getter blesseth *his appetite.*

---

harsh, and the presence of the word overloads the line. Not improbably משנאי has arisen from מנשא, the participle originally used in the next line, which was subsequently explained by the synonymous מרוממי (so Lagarde, and many since).

3 The last two words of the Hebrew text of this verse belong to verse 4: see next note. After their removal, there remains :—

כי־הלל רשע על תאות נפשו
ובצע ברך

These lines are obviously ill-balanced; הלל רשע in the first is parallel to בצע ברך in the second, but the object in the first line consists of two

ב (ס)

4 The wicked 3 contemneth Yahweh (saying)—
4 "According to His full anger He will not punish";
"There is no God" is the sum of his thoughts;
5 Stable are his ways at all times.

---

words parallel in sense, while the second contains no object at all. Apparently, then, the missing object of the second line has accidentally shifted up to the line above. If so, תאות once immediately preceded ובצע; by a wrong division of words the ו appears to have become detached from an original תאותו and prefixed to ובצע. In line one the על is probably derived from an original ל by reading the final ע of the preceding word twice. The two lines now balance and parallel one another perfectly. For the phrase *to bless one's own soul* or *appetite*, used of the godless, cf. xlix. 19. This is Duhm's emendation, and, to quote his words, the thought is: "The godless man praises not God, but his own belly (cf. Luke xii. 19)"; cf. also Phil. iii. 19. The lines, thus restored, read as follows:—

כי־הלל רשע לתאותו
ובצע ברך נפשו

4 In the Hebrew text the last line of *v.* 3 and the first of *v.* 4 stand thus:—

ובצע ברך נאץ יהוה
רשע כגבה אפו בל־ידרש

But the citation from this verse in *v.* 13 (על מה נאץ רשע אלהים, *Wherefore "hath the wicked contemned God"*) clearly shows that נאץ יהוה רשע originally stood here as an independent sentence; and so it does stand in the earliest form of the text, to wit, in the LXX. Consequently, what precedes נאץ belongs to *v.* 3; what follows רשע begins a new line and a new sentence. These positive reasons for the division of sentences adopted above are supported by strong negative considerations, viz. that the last line of *v.* 3 as it stands in the Hebrew text and R.V. admits of no satisfactory and natural explanation, and that those who follow the Hebrew sentence-division are driven to a highly questionable translation of the words כגבה אפו—*the pride of his countenance* (R.V.), or *the loftiness of his looks*; but *countenance* in Hebrew is פנים, *not* אף. אף means *nostril*, *nose*, and then, metaphorically, *anger*; that in Hebrew (or Arabic) it ever acquired the sense *face* is, to say the least, unproven. It is customary (and idiomatically correct) to render אפים ארצה—*with the face to the earth*; but there is no reason to question that the Hebrew thought of the *nose*, rather than the whole face, touching the ground.

In the height (?) are Thy judgments from before him ;
As for all his adversaries, he puffeth at them ;
[6] He saith in his heart, " I shall never be shaken,"
. . . . . [7] . . .

[5b] *In the height :* questionable, but, if correct, to be paraphrased as in R.V. Abbot happily suggests סרו for מרום, and renders, *Removed are Thy judgments from before him.*

[6] This verse originally included the first word of *v.* 7 (see next note). The smooth translation of the R.V., with its excellent parallels, completely conceals the really desperate character of the Hebrew text. Presumably the Revisers treated אשר as = ὅτι recitative, and therefore left it untranslated. This is a rare usage, but sufficiently established to justify invoking it, if אשר really *introduced* the speech here ; but it does not : it stands nearly at the end of the words spoken (after *all generations*) ! The A.V., *He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved : for* (*I shall*) *never* (*be*) *in adversity*, is, perhaps, a less illegitimate translation, but the sense is self-condemnatory—I shall not be moved, because I shall not be moved. Tautologous, too, is Dr. Driver's translation (*Parallel Psalter*), " I shall not be moved, I who to all generations shall not be in adversity." Other attempts have been made to render and explain the verse as it stands, but these may suffice to show that the present text is really impossible. We might, indeed, render—*He hath said in his heart, I shall never be moved who is not in adversity, i.e.* He who is now prosperous is confident that his prosperity will continue, but for three considerations : (1) The two lines would be exceedingly ill-balanced ; (2) the *order* would be as awkward in Hebrew as I have intentionally made it in English ; and (3) it takes no account of אלה which has to be included from *v.* 7.

Duhm's treatment of the words אשר לא ברע, together with אלה of *v.* 7, may be in the right direction, but it is not free from some of the objections urged against the present text. He points אלה of *v.* 7 אֵלָה (=אֵלּוּ Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Grammar*, 91 *e*), the word found in a similar context in lxxiii. 4 (wrongly rendered in R.V.), and renders, *He whose paunch is not ill* (*fed*), *i.e.* the godless " in fair round belly with good capon lined " forgets God, and is quite happy about his own fate.

[7] Again the R.V. conceals the strange order of the Hebrew text as at present divided. To visualise the argument for the division adopted above, I give the R.V. altered only in so far as to restore the Hebrew order :—

Cursing | his mouth is full of | and | deceit and oppression,
Under his tongue is | mischief and iniquity.

A mere glance at the lines suggests the strong probability that the words *cursing* and *and* in the first line are intrusive, and have spoilt a very fine and perfect parallelism. But, further : (1) The position of אלה, *cursing*, before the verb throws on it a strong emphasis, for which, nevertheless, no reason can be discovered, and the real object consisting

פ

His mouth is full of deceits and oppression,
Under his tongue is mischief and trouble;
8 He sitteth in places of ambush in the villages,
In secret places he slayeth the innocent.

ע (צ)

His eyes watch privily for the hapless,
9 He lieth in ambush in a secret place as a lion in his covert;
He lieth in ambush to snatch away the afflicted,
He snatcheth away the afflicted, dragging him off in his net.

10 [The righteous] . . . sinketh down,
And the hapless fall by his strong ones (?).
11 He saith in his heart, "God has forgotten,
He hath hidden His face (and) seeth nevermore."

---

like its parallel, in the next line of a *pair* of qualities, comes limping awkwardly in at the end as an afterthought. Why is there a stress on cursing? Why, so much more stress on cursing than on deceit or oppression? Why, perhaps we may further ask, is cursing somewhat incongruously coupled with "deceit and oppression"? These are questions which commentators who follow the traditional division of the text have never answered, if they have even considered them. (2) The inclusion of אלה in the first line would overload it, giving it five word-accents against the four of its parallel: this lack of balance is only aggravated when Baethgen removes אשר from *v.* 6 and prefixes it to *v.* 7!

Read, then, in 7a פיהו מלא מרמות ותך, *i.e.* omit the ו before מרמות (necessarily introduced when אלה had been connected with *v.* 7), or less probably the waw of ומרמות may have shifted from an original מלאו, lit. *Deceit and oppression fill his mouth.*

9 *In a secret place:* The omission of these words, which may have been accidentally repeated from 8 b, improves the vigour and rhythm of the line.

10 Again, the attempt to render the existing Hebrew text has reduced commentators to the most desperate straits. R.V. renders,

He croucheth, he boweth down,
And the helpless fall by his strong ones.

But to whom does the pronoun refer? Many, since Ewald, have

ק

12 Arise, Yahweh, O God, lift up Thine hand :
Forget not *the cry of* the afflicted ;
13 Wherefore hath the wicked contemned Yahweh ?
Hath he said in his heart, " Thou wilt not punish " ?

ר

14 Thou hast seen ∧ ∧ mischief and vexation,
Thou lookest (upon them) to place them in Thy hand ;
The hapless committeth his cause unto Thee,
Thou hast been the helper of the orphan.

---

referred it to the lion, and have quite gratuitously explained " his strong ones " to mean his claws. But this involves the extremely improbable supposition that the pronoun refers to a subject introduced *allusively* three lines before (9 a) and *dismissed*, for 9 b, c cannot refer to the lion, since the lion does not hunt with a net, nor insist that his meal shall consist in particular of the poor. As the text stands, the subject of 9 b, c, that is, the wicked man, can alone be reasonably regarded as the subject of 10 a. But, then, why should the wicked man be described as *crushed* ? for this, and not *to crouch* (R.V.), is the sense of דכה. As a matter of fact, 10 a must be interpreted by its parallel 10 b ; both lines must refer to the poor : but, then, a term referring to the poor is as badly needed in 10 a as in 10 b—indeed, more so. Thus exegetical considerations point strongly to the loss in 10 a of a term parallel to חלכאים in 10 b. Rhythmical considerations point strongly in the same direction. For (1) 10 a (two words) is shorter than its parallel (three words) ; and (2) it is abnormally short in relation to the entire poem : it is the only real and unambiguous case (even in the present text) of a line of two words. The obscure דכה (or ידכה יִדְכֶּה) I have left untranslated above, but to bring out the sense I have tentatively made good the loss of the term parallel to *hapless* in 10 b. Whether that term was *righteous* or one of a dozen others must be determined, if determined it can be, by other arguments [see page 283] than those here adduced to prove that *some* word, be it what it may, has fallen out of the text at this point.

12ab The lines are ill-balanced ; perhaps אל (O God) in *a* is an editor's substitute for Yahweh : in line *b* צעקת has been supplied in accordance with ix. 13.

14a The Hebrew text is scarcely tolerable. Duhm (followed above) omits כיאתה as a corrupt duplication of ראתה. Even so perhaps the original text is not exactly recovered.

ש

15 Break the arm of the wicked and evil,
Though ∧ wickedness be sought for, it shall not be found;

16 Yahweh is King for ever and aye,
The nations are perished out of His land.

ת

17 Thou, Yahweh, hast heard the desire of the humble,
Thou directest their heart, makest Thine ear attentive;

18 To do justice to the orphan and the crushed,
That frail man of the earth may terrorize no more.

The two laws of an alphabetic poem are (1) that the initials of successive strophes follow the order of the alphabet, and (2) that these initials should follow one another at regular intervals. This regular interval in Psalms ix. and x. is four lines, as may be seen by a glance at the strophes beginning with א, ב, ו, ז, ט, ק, ר, ש, ת, not at present to refer to others.

The lines throughout the poem are of equal or approximately equal length, the normal length being three or four accented words.[1] Of the eighty-three lines into which the Revised Version

15a The LXX, which connects *the wicked and the evil*, is preferable to the Massoretic interpretation of the Hebrew text, which begins a fresh sentence with the second term (so R.V.).

15b The meaning is clear: Exterminate wickedness; but how precisely this was expressed is uncertain. I have read רשעה for ורשעו, and both verbs as Niphals.

18b The line is over long. Duhm omits the last three words, and renders, *that they may be in dread no more.*

[1] [That some of the lines contain three, some four stresses is due to the fact that the author makes use of 4 : 3 rhythm : see pp. 171-176.]

divides the two Psalms, fifteen are abnormally long or short, *i.e.* they contain more than four or less than three accented words. Of these, eight in the Hebrew text contain only two accented words, six contain five, and one contains seven. But the line of seven words (x. 14 a) should certainly be read as two lines (and probably of three words each, one word being dittographic) as in the above translation, x. 14 a, b. On the other hand, the Revised Version wrongly makes two lines (each of two accents) out of one in the case of ix. 14 b, c = ix. 15 b in the above translation. In this case the mis-division of the Revised Version spoils the parallelism. The case is similar, though less obvious, with ix. 13 a, b (R.V.) = ix. 14 a above (one line of four accents; see note above). With this corrected division of lines the ה strophe, like the nine strophes enumerated above, contains four lines, each of normal length, instead of four abnormally short lines and two normal lines, giving in all, in the Revised Version, six lines to the strophe which would be altogether abnormal.

We have still to consider five lines each containing in the Massoretic text two word accents, and six lines each containing five. Of the five lines of two accents, four become of the normal length of three accents, if we simply delete the makkeph: these are ix. 2 b, 4 a, 14 b, x. 12 b; in the last case, however, the shortness

is more probably caused by the loss of a word (see note above). The only remaining instance of a line of two accents is x. 10 a, and there, as I have shown above, there are very strong exegetical reasons for suspecting the loss of a word.

Two of the lines of five accents contain a word which there are strong reasons (already given), apart from rhythmic considerations, for transposing in the one case (ix. 7 b) to the following, and in the other (x. 7 a) to the preceding line. With the removal of the intrusive words these lines become of the normal length of four words. If in x. 6 a לדר ודר be makkephed, as in Psalm cxxxv. 13, and in ix. 19 a לא לנצח, as in Psalm ciii. 9, these lines also are of normal length. There remain x. 12 a and x. 18 b, where reasons, other than rhythmical, for reducing the length of the lines are less cogent.

This survey may suffice to show that the text of lines containing less than three or more than four accents is open to grave suspicion.

The most crucial question in dealing with the structure of Psalms ix. and x. is this: How far back from the end of the Psalm does the alphabetic arrangement extend? It is generally said that the strophes beginning with the last four letters (ת, ש, ר, ק) remain; but it is also commonly stated or *implied* that the immediately preceding strophes have been lost and their place

taken by others, or that these strophes, though as they stand they are original, were never brought into the alphabetic scheme. But what are the facts? I turn first to the twelve lines immediately preceding the ק strophe, for here are facts which have been overlooked or not appreciated.

1. The eighth line (x. 8 c) before the ק strophe begins with ע, *i.e.* ע occurs as an initial letter *at the exact interval* from ק at which it should occur in an alphabetic poem following the order observed in Lamentations ii., iii., iv.[1] where the פ strophe precedes the ע.

Even if this fact stood by itself and so might possibly be due to accident, it ought to be taken account of; but it does not stand alone, for

2. If we read back three lines and four words (*i.e.* the normal length of a line), in all therefore four lines, from the point where the initial ע occurs, we find the word פיהו: *i.e.* פ stands *at the exact interval* from ק and ע at which it should stand by the well-established laws of this poem. I have stated the fact thus, for thus stated it is indisputable. It is true that according to the traditional verse division פיהו does not stand at the beginning of the line, but I have shown in the note on the passage above that there are the

[1] The same order (ע before פ) was found by the Greek translators in their Hebrew text of Prov. xxxi. It was probably also found in the original form of Ps. xxxiv., for sense seems to require the transposition of *vv.* 16 and 17 (=15, 16 R.V.).

strongest reasons (entirely independent of alphabetic considerations) for holding that the line originally began with this word, and that the traditional division of the text gives bad sense, bad rhythm, and bad parallelism.

3. Although the fourth line (x. 10 a) before the initial ק does not begin with צ, there are, as I have already shown, the strongest independent reasons for believing that this abnormally short line has lost a word in the course of textual transmission.

I submit that this combination of facts—the abnormal shortness and strangeness of the fourth line before initial ק, the occurrence of initial ע at the beginning of the eighth and of initial פ at the beginning of the twelfth line—is not accidental, but is due to the fact that Psalm x. concludes not merely with the last four but with the last seven strophes of an alphabetic poem.

Working back afresh from the initial ק in x. 12 we find at the beginning of the twentieth line before it the letter נ (in x. 3 b),[1] *i.e.* נ stands *at the exact interval* before ק at which it should stand in an alphabetic poem of four-lined strophes. On the other hand, if we count downwards from the initial י in ix. 18, or the ל in x. 1, it occurs two lines too soon. Moreover the initial מ,

[1] For the justification of following the Greek as against the Hebrew tradition in beginning the line with נאץ, see note above, p. 275.

which should precede it, and the ס, which should follow, are not found in the present text. Having regard to these facts alone, we might consider the position of נ in relation to ק accidental. But when we connect this with our previous conclusion, such an explanation becomes difficult; for נ occurs at the correct interval before not only ק but also before פ and ע. I recall further at this point that the fifth line after the נ (x. 5 b), where initial ס should stand, is suspicious, though perhaps not impossible, in style, and that the substitution of a similar word beginning with ס appears to be a considerable improvement. The case of the missing initial מ may be taken with a consideration of the first part of the poem; and this may be brief, for opinion differs less seriously here.

Of late it has never been seriously questioned that Psalm ix. was originally alphabetic, and this being so it is unnecessary to discuss at length whether the ד and ה strophes were shorter than the rest in the original poem. No reason or sound analogy can be given for such abbreviation, and we have not the slightest ground for assuming that the author was such a bungler as without reason to have failed in the very simple art of writing an alphabetic poem. It follows that the equivalent of about four lines has fallen out of the text between ix. 6 and ix. 10.

But if this has certainly happened at one point

in the poem, it is not improbable that it has happened elsewhere. If, therefore, the alphabetic structure can be traced down to the ל strophe and from the נ strophe to the end, the most probable explanation of the facts that in the present text six lines only instead of eight stand between initial ל and initial נ and that initial מ is absent must surely be that two lines have fallen out of the text, one of which contained the missing initial.

The only strophes now left for consideration are those with the initials י and כ. The י strophe clearly begins with ix. 18, for the initial י occurs here and at the correct interval after מ; but where did it end? The data appear to me somewhat ambiguous. But the question is obviously connected with another: Does the original כ occur in the present text; if so, where? One suggestion may be decisively dismissed, for it too implicitly charges the author with bungling. It has been said that the ק with which ix. 20 begins was intentionally substituted for כ because the two letters had some resemblance in sound! This is as if the composer of an English acrostic should find it beyond his powers to discover a suitable word beginning with C and should use instead a word beginning with G!

If the original כ survives, it most probably survives in the first word of ix. 19; then the present text would present a י strophe of two

followed by a כ strophe of six lines. In that case we must suppose that a couplet has shifted from the י into the כ strophe, and we may, with Duhm, place ix. 21 immediately after ix. 18. But this, though a possible, and indeed a not improbable solution, is not certain, for though ix. 21 follows ix. 18 well enough, its connexion with ix. 18 is by no means obviously better than with ix. 20.

Others have suggested that ix. 20, 21 do not belong to the original alphabetic poem but are an independent close to Psalm ix. This theory would be more probable if the verses were absent from the Greek text; but they are not, and the theory requires the assumption that verses intended to form an independent close to Psalm ix. after it had been separated from Psalm x. are present in a text which still treats Psalms ix. and x. as continuous.

One curious fact must not be concealed. Psalm ix. 20 begins with ק and the third line following (ix. 21 a) with ש. In this sequence Baethgen detects the continuation, after a gap of several strophes, of ix. 19. He also assumes the loss of two lines after ix. 20. This particular assumption is invalidated, if it be shown that the original ק strophe really occurs in Psalm x. It is just possible, however, that, if ix. 20, 21 are intrusive, they were derived from an alphabetic poem of two-lined strophes; but the sequence

may quite well be accidental; to be sure of alphabetic structure we need a sequence of at least three letters, for only so can we determine the fixed interval between the letters which gives the sequence its significance.

I conclude my discussion with a brief criticism of certain theories as to the literary and textual history of Psalms ix. and x.

Professor Kirkpatrick's ultimate conclusion is that Psalm ix. "appears to be complete in itself, and it seems preferable to regard Psalm x. as a companion piece rather than as part of a continuous whole." This appears to me highly improbable, and it certainly does nothing to alleviate the grave exegetical difficulties which Baethgen attempts to remove; but I will not discuss it here, for it does not depend on any conclusion as to the completeness of the alphabetic structure, since it would not be safe to deny that a writer may have chosen to compose two separate poems, one following the alphabetic scheme to the eleventh letter, the other from the twelfth to the twenty-second and last.

Some other theories which deny the unity of Psalms ix. and x. have proceeded from the assumption that parts of the two Psalms are alphabetic, and parts non-alphabetic; and that x. 1-11 or x. 3-11 are the non-alphabetic part, which is of different origin from the rest. Now such theories must be so modified as to be scarcely

worth maintaining if my argument that even in the present text the alphabetic structure can be clearly traced back to x. 7 is sound; and they fall completely to the ground if my further argument that the original initial ב survives in its original position in x. 3 is also admitted.

Baethgen's theory may be considered at greater length, for it is based on weighty exegetical considerations. I will cite his remarks somewhat fully. After indicating the reasons for considering that Psalms ix. and x. were originally connected, he continues: "The reason for the division adopted by the Massoretes lies in the difference of subject; but the conclusion of Psalm x. refers to the same circumstances that form the subject of Psalm ix.; moreover the alphabetic scheme does not reach its close till the end of Psalm x. Psalm ix. is a song of thanksgiving and triumph over the defeat of heathen foes. . . . With x. 1 ff. there begin bitter complaints about the absence (*Ausbleiben*) of divine help. But the oppressors are not the same as in Psalm ix.; they are not heathen, but godless Israelites. . . . Corresponding to this remarkable change from triumph to bitter complaint and to the entirely different historic background which is presupposed is a break in the alphabetic arrangement." Baethgen then points out, as I have already done, how the alphabetic scheme survives down to the ר strophe

in ix. 19 and then continues, "After this everything is lost till ק ix. 20, ש ix. 21. In x. 1-11 there is no alphabetic arrangement. In x. 12, 13 again ק, in x. 14 ר, in x. 15 f. ש, and x. 17, 18 ת. Since x. 16-18 agree most excellently with the beginning, and indeed with the entire contents of Psalm ix., but not in the slightest with the rest of Psalm x., the conjecture that x. 1-15 formed no original part of the poem cannot be dismissed. The verses x. 12-15 follow, it is true, an alphabetic arrangement, but their subject matter and language connect them with x. 1-11; cf. x. 13 with x. 3, 4, 11, x. 14 with x. 8-10 (חלכה), x. 15 with x. 4. The language of x. 1-15 is harder and more peculiar than that of ix. 1-21, x. 16-18; yet between both parts there are links, cf. x. 1 and ix. 10 (לעתות בצרה): x. 12 with ix. 13, 19. It is no longer possible to explain satisfactorily all these remarkable phenomena. The interpolation of x. 1-15 and the loss of the strophes from כ to צ between ix. 19 and ix. 20 may have been accidental and perhaps due to a leaf getting misplaced in binding. . . . But it is just as likely that a later editor intentionally gave the Psalm its present form by removing a section and substituting another for it."

Certainly Baethgen's strongest argument is drawn from the apparent difference of subject in the present text—in ix. and x. 16-18 the nations, in x. 1-15 the wicked. Both Dr. Cheyne

and Duhm, who maintain the substantial unity of the whole, feel this so strongly that they assimilate ix. and x. 16-18 to x. 1-15 by reading where the term *nations* (גוים) occurs either *the treacherous* (בגדים; so Cheyne) or *the proud* (גאים; so Duhm).

Baethgen's argument from difference of style I believe to be fallacious; the style of x. 1-15 only appears harder when we treat what has suffered corruption and become unintelligible as the original style of the writer. Doubtless parts of x. 1-15, particularly x. 6-10, are in the present text harder than most of Psalm ix.; but they are corrupt; and in turn ix. 6, 7, which are also corrupt, are harder than, for example, x. 1, 2 or x. 7 (after אלה) to x. 9.

But the theory breaks down owing to the improbabilities which it implies in connexion with the alphabetic sequence. It will be sufficient to consider what Baethgen, in common with every one else, admits, that x. 12-18 constitute a perfect sequence of four alphabetic strophes (ת, ש, ר, ק). Yet on Baethgen's theory this perfect sequence is the result of accident. The last strophe and a half belonged to one poem, the remaining two and a half to another; in binding, a leaf fell out of place and with it the original alphabetic order was broken, and yet, marvellous to relate, the leaf which accidentally took its place contained part of

another alphabetic poem of precisely the same structure which exactly dovetailed into the end of the poem. The last lines of the lost leaf should have contained the four lines of a ק strophe, followed by four lines of a ר strophe, followed by two lines of a ש strophe: the leaf which on the hypothesis was accidentally substituted for it actually contained four lines of a ק strophe, followed by four lines of a ר strophe, followed by two lines of a ש strophe. Moreover the accidentally substituted leaf so well dovetails into the leaf that preceded that it commences with ל at the exact and correct interval of eight lines from the initial י.

The case is scarcely better if we accept Baethgen's alternative suggestion that x. 1-15 were *intentionally* substituted for a section of the original alphabetic poem. For are we to suppose that the editor selected these verses in particular because he noticed that they contained the suitable sequence ש, ר, ק? Are we to suppose that in the passage thus chosen (x. 1-15) this sequence of these three letters at the same fixed interval was mere accident? The latter supposition becomes even more improbable, impossible indeed, when account is taken of the further sequence פ, ע, which connects, as shown above, with the sequence ש, ר, ק.

The only modification of Baethgen's theory which seems to me tenable is that x. 1-15 was

throughout alphabetic, and was deliberately written to be interpolated between ix. 21 and x. 16 by a later editor, who for some reason found the verses thus replaced unsuitable. This would account for the admitted sequence ש, ר, ק, for the further traces of alphabetic structure, for the exact dovetailing of the inserted section, and for the points of connexion in thought and style between x. 1-15 and ix. + x. 16-18. But in this form the theory cannot of course derive any argument from the present alphabetic phenomena. It must depend on the difference, apparent certainly if not original, of subject. But why should an editor, who thought it necessary to interpolate a long section, have failed to make the further slight changes necessary to assimilate the subject throughout ?

Several of those who attribute the present incompleteness of the alphabetic structure to textual corruption have sought to restore the original text by transpositions. Some of these transpositions are certainly questionable. For the remnants of the alphabetic structure testify not only to the fact of textual corruption, *but also to certain limitations within which that corruption has occurred* ; they must therefore be treated as regulating factors in any reconstruction of the text. Thus treated, they go far to invalidate not only theories of large interpolation of foreign matter, but also theories of extensive transposi-

tion and omission. In so far, therefore, as they involve such transpositions I find the theories of Bickell, Cheyne, and, in a less degree, of Duhm, improbable. For example, on Bickell's theory, among the textual corruptions are the following : (1) ix. 20, 21 have been added to the original poem ; (2) the original כ strophe consisted of x. 3 (now somewhat expanded) + x. 4 + x. 5 a, and has shifted from its original position so as to follow the ל strophe, x. 1, 2 ; (3) the נ and ס strophes have fallen out clean after x. 5 b (from מרום), x. 6 which constitute the original מ strophe. But all this involves this rather improbable combination of accidents : (1) the position of initial נ in the present text at the correct distance before initial פעקרשת is pure accident, for on the theory it is not the original initial נ ; (2) the ל of x. 1 is the original initial, but it has only retained its position at the correct interval after initial י by a lucky combination of changes : the assumed interpolation of ix. 20, 21 would have removed it four lines too far from initial י, but this was neutralised by four lines exactly of the כ strophe getting misplaced after the ל strophe ; (3) by accident eight consecutive lines (the נ and ס strophes) drop out between x. 6 and 7 without any such break in the sense as would indicate so considerable a loss.

Dr. Cheyne's reconstruction assumes frequent expansion of the text through the intrusion of

variant readings of the same line and corresponding losses of lines. With regard to the addition of ix. 20, 21, the transpositions at the beginning of Psalm x., and the loss of exactly the eight lines of the ג and ד strophes he nearly agrees with Bickell. But further, on his theory, the occurrence of initial פ and ע at the correct interval before the initial ק is due to a lucky combination, within the twelve lines concerned, of addition and omission; two lines have fallen out between x. 10 and x. 11, but just this quantity of matter by a curious freak of fortune has been added within the same section by the expansion of two original lines into the four lines 9 b and 10 a, d of the present text.

The text of Psalms ix. and x. has certainly suffered corruption. The LXX contains a few more correct readings than the Hebrew text, and preserves the correct division of lines in one case where the Massoretic text has destroyed it. But even conjectural emendation is justified and indeed demanded, and that to a somewhat greater extent than I have admitted in the provisional translation given above for purposes of this discussion. Exegesis that fails to take account of this, that insists on interpreting everything in the present text as the actual words of the author, must go wrong. In addition to this general conclusion, the results, briefly summarised, which an examination of the structure of the poem

appears to me to offer as the starting-point of sound exegesis, are these: Psalms ix. and x. are a single poem; the original poem consisted of eighty-eight lines of three or four accented words; the equivalent of four or five of these lines has been lost—the equivalent of two or three between ix. 6 and ix. 10, two lines exactly between x. 1 and x. 4. On the other hand, at no point between ix. 2-5 or ix. 10-17 or x. 6-18 has the text received addition or suffered loss to the extent of more than a word or two, but several such small losses or additions or corruptions of words are indicated by the abnormal length of the lines or the impossibility of the style.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE REPETITION OF TERMS IN PARALLEL LINES

[See page 254, note 2.]

The clearest proof that some instances at least of repetition (in the present Hebrew text) of the same term in the two parallel lines of a distich are due to scribal error is furnished by the double text of Psalm xviii. = 2 Samuel xxii. Thus in *v.* 7 in Samuel the verb אקרא, *I call,* occurs in both lines; but the second אקרא is an error, and probably a relatively late error, for the LXX in Samuel has different verbs—ἐπικαλέσομαι in the first, *βοήσομαι* in the second line. The original Hebrew text is preserved in the Psalm, which has אקרא, *I call,* in the first, אשוע, *I cry for help,* in the second line. Similarly in *v.* 32 מבלעדי, *save,* occurs in Samuel in both lines, in the Psalm in the first line only, זולתי, *except,* being used in the second line. Here the LXX has πλὴν

both in the Psalm and Samuel in both lines; nevertheless the Hebrew text of the Psalm, with different prepositions in the two lines, is the original text. A somewhat similar error to the two just considered occurs in *v.* 47: here the Psalm has in the two lines as synonymous terms צורי, *my rock*, and אלהי ישעי, *the God of my salvation*: through erroneous repetition of the term of the first line Samuel agrees with the Psalm in the first line, but in the second line has the conflate phrase, *the God of the rock of my salvation*. In *v.* 29 Samuel has *Yahweh* in both lines; the Psalm, *Yahweh* in the first, and *my God* in the second line: the text of Samuel is wrong, but is perhaps not due to mere extrusion of a differentiated term by a repetition of the same term. Somewhat different, too, but worthy of consideration in this connexion, is the loss of the undoubtedly correct משברי, *billows*, of 2 Samuel xxii. 5 in the Psalm through the substitution for it in the latter passage of חבלי, *snares*, which occurs in the next distich.

At times parallel terms in parallel lines suffered transposition: where accidents of this kind have taken place, they cannot generally be detected. It has been suggested that such an accident befell the text of Nahum i. 4 (see p. 257, n. 1); and there is one certain example of such an accident in the poem that occurs both in Isaiah ii. 2-4 and Micah i. 1-4: in Isaiah ii. 2 e, 3 a = Micah iv. 1 e, 2 a the parallel terms, גוים, *nations*, and עמים, *peoples*, occur in this order in Isaiah, in the reverse order in Micah.

A few further examples may be given of repetitions in the present Hebrew text which there is some reason to suspect was not in as original fact. In Job ix. 10 עד־אין occurs in both verses; but in the earlier occurrence of the verse in v. 9 we find the versation ואין . . עד־אין. In Job xii. 23 לגוים is repeated, but five MSS. give לאמים in the second line. In xiii. 7 תדברו is repeated, but the Lχρ has λαλεῖτε . . φθέγγεσθε; the letters v b never renders דבר, except perhaps in Eccles. xiii. 22, but it renders הביע in Ps. lxxvii. 2, lxxiii. 4: or should perhaps read תביעו for the second תדברו. Similarly the repeated יעות in Job viii. 3, שד in Amos v. 9, יסותו in Jer. xi. 22 are all represented by different words in the Lχρ.

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